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AARON M. POWELL, *Editor.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Special Editorial Contributor.*

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RECONSTRUCTION—A LESSON FROM TEXAS.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

TEXAS is the last State in which Mr. Johnson declared the rebellion ended, and, in doing so, he did not fail to compliment the new reign of good feeling, order, generosity to the freedmen, and devotion to the Union therein existing. Outside of his proclamation these things have never been heard of, and probably no one was more surprised at his praise than the people who received it. If the present condition of affairs in Texas is of peace, war would be preferable.

One of the first acts of the Legislature was to abolish the judicial districts in which Union men had been elected Judges; the administration of the law was restored entirely to rebels. Large grants of lands and money were made to rebel soldiers. The bodies of rebels were brought from other States for reinterment, and an act passed to remove the bodies of Union soldiers from the State cemetery. Congressional districts were created by which counties thirty miles apart were placed in the same district, for the purpose of preventing the election of any man to Congress who could take the test oath. In rejecting the Constitutional Amendment, October 13, the Legislature adopted a report which declared the action of Congress to be "a nefarious conspiracy," "crafty and iniquitous legislation," "degrading and malignant." Labor laws were framed, which practically reduced the freedmen to slavery, and were found so monstrous that the Freedmen's Bureau refused to admit their authority. In brief, the Legislature of Texas, animated by the old spirit of slavery and rebellion, did nothing for loyalty and order, but directly encouraged that reign of violence which is now driving Union men from the State and making the negroes serfs. The United States military force in Texas is small, and outside of its immediate protection Union men and freedmen are at the mercy of rebels. Hundreds of cases of outrage have been published recently; of these we will quote a few furnished by unquestionable authority.

In the Spring of 1866 a son of Jonathan Lindley was murdered in Bell county; his murderers were arrested by the military, and in attempting to escape, two of them were killed, it is said by Major Carpenter, commanding the troops, and Mr. Lindley. In November, Lindley was arrested for murder and placed in jail. Through his counsel he applied to Gen. Heintzelman for protection, affirming that his life was in danger because of his Union principles. Gen. Heintzelman laid the facts before Gov. Throckmorton, who replied, Nov. 17: "I apprehend that Mr. Lindley is in no danger from rash violence in Bell county. I shall write to the authorities of that county on the subject, and impress the necessity of a strict compliance with the law, and the confidence expressed by Maj.-Gen. Heintzelman in their regard for law." Solemn assurances were given by the authorities of Bell county that Lindley should be dealt with justly. Near the end of November the troops in the neighborhood were sent to the frontier to protect the people of Texas from Indians, and on the night of December 3, a mob of about thirty entered the jail, murdered old Mr. Lindley, his son, and another inmate of the jail who was an entire stranger to the Lindleys. In this case, not even the interference of Gov. Throckmorton was a protection. It is an instance of the cruelty of trusting to the civil courts the lives of Union men; the folly of believing that Texas rebels respect any authority but that of the bayonet.

We believe that for almost every day of the past six months a murder of a Union man or a negro might be cited. But the cases which we quote are sufficient to show the condition of the State. On the 21st of October, in Grayson county, four men rode up to the house of a freedman named Daniel Wheat, arrested him for some pretended offence, and shot him before his own door. The murderers were not arrested. In Sumpter, Trinity county, a freedman was burned alive in December, and several killed. In Chambers county, in the same month, a Union man was beaten by two men till he was senseless, and his house robbed. An order for their arrest was issued, but the outlaws snatched the warrant from the Sheriff, tore it to pieces, and defied his power. Edmund Parsons and Mat. Hewlin, two freedmen, were shot in Travis county in December, by white men, apparently from mere wantonness. Their murderers were not arrested. At Prairie Lea, Dec. 8, a negro was publicly whipped for calling a young rebel Thomas, instead of Master Thomas. On the 15th, at the same place, a bottle of whiskey was demanded of a negro, and upon his refusal to give it, he was shot. The murderers were known, but the civil authorities refused to arrest them. Prairie Lea is forty miles from any military post, and it is the common amusement of the rebels, mounted on horses, to chase the freedmen through the streets, and shoot at them with revolvers. "Never," says a trustworthy correspondent of the Freedmen's Bureau, presenting the case of a Union man, "in the days of slavery, has there been known the wrong, the outrage, the oppression, that now exists in the north-eastern counties of Texas toward the poor negroes. They are now more down-trodden and brutally treated than he has ever known them during his residence here, which has been ever since 1833. They have no rights whatever that are respected; and he has related to me instances of cruelty, wrong, and violation of all law toward them, which would make your heart bleed. His own freed negroes have returned to him and besought him to receive them to his care as his slaves, that they might have some protection. He says that the lash is now more cruelly administered than it ever was; that negroes who have cultivated lands rented from some of the white men, after growing fine crops and having them laid by for the harvest, have been deprived of everything upon some pretext sought by the landlord to engage in quarrel, which would terminate in the most brutal punishment of the negro and his dismissal without a dollar for the labor he had bestowed upon the crop. I could not pretend to attempt a description of outrages, from cold-blooded murder down; and there is not an agent of your Bureau, or an officer, to whom these people can appeal for redress." This description correctly applies to every district in Texas of which the United States troops have not control. In Harrison county bands of organized robbers plunder whites and blacks alike, and in twenty-seven other counties in that district there is no safety for negroes or loyal men. From the northern part of Texas we have testimony that the freedmen are not paid for their labor, and remain in actual slavery. Freedmen who dare to bring suits to recover wages due are frequently whipped, and many of those who at the close of the year were paid, were afterward robbed. "Unless protection can be afforded from the military," writes a Union man in Caldwell county, "assassination will soon become the order of the day." Panola county was in November, probably is, controlled by organized robbers, whom the civil authorities dared not attempt to arrest. Thus the catalogue of crime continues; but we have said enough. If these were exceptional cases we should have said nothing, but they are the rule, and though we have few reports from Texas during the month of January, we believe that the number of murders is not diminishing, and the condition of the State probably growing worse.

Yet, this is the State which the President would restore to civil rule, which he would at once readmit to full power in the Union. A State where emancipation is but a word, Unionism a degradation, disloyalty a virtue, and murder a privilege above the law. Another United States army in Texas might keep its rebel soldiers in subjection, but nothing will give a permanent security to its loyal population, and fit it to resume its place in the Union, but a measure for the restoration of public order as is proposed in the bill of Mr. Stevens now before Congress. If there be any other, what is it?

FREE LABOR SYSTEM OF THE SOUTH AND ITS NECESSITIES.

A PROMINENT business man of New Orleans, in a letter to the Hon. W. D. Kelley, a representative in Congress from Pennsylvania, which we find in the Washington *Chronicle*, says:

While well aware you need no help in the production of an argument, I presume you will cheerfully accept a suggestion in regard to the peculiar necessities and dangers of the freedmen and the free labor system of lower Louisiana, and the duty of the nation's legislators to carefully protect both by taxing heavily the imported sugar, nearly all of which are the product of slave labor. To set the slaves free and then strip the article they produce of protection, thus rendering them inevitable paupers, would be a crime of which no *honest* Radical will be guilty if he knows what he is doing. No other section of our whole country is so completely at the mercy of Congress as this, and because no other agricultural interest could be so suddenly and hopelessly crushed by being stripped of protection as the sugar-producing interest of this section. You have only to give this matter a little attention to understand the condition and its importance much more fully than I can describe it.

I have not a dollar invested in sugar lands, but the firm of which I am a member here, is advancing to several sugar planters to enable them to pay their laborers and meet other inevitable expenses of cultivating their plantations. My visits to their plantations on business have given me a knowledge of the importance of protecting this interest, and a sympathy for those most deeply interested in it, that I could not possibly transfer to the mind of any one far away who has never had any such opportunities. While I do not believe all the sugar planters of this State are inclined to treat the freedmen kindly and pay them well, I *do* believe they are more generous, kind, and upright in this regard than the same number of any other portion of the Southern States. The planters to whom we are advancing, favor educating their laborers—the young, especially; they pay them well, and seem as kind to them as Northern employers are to their white laborers. Only last evening I returned from a visit to several sugar plantations in Terre Bonne parish, and all I saw and heard strengthened the opinion expressed. One planter has already made arrangements to build a school-house (large enough for meetings, also), at his own expense, I to provide a teacher. He also urges the necessity of a faithful missionary to preach to the colored people of the vicinity. One very fine feature is, that while the haters of freedom are kicking against the present condition of things the negroes will not work for them, and their plantations are going to weeds and brush and they to poverty, while the generous, sensible men, who cheerfully accept the situation and make the best of it, are fast getting upon their feet, and likely soon to become the leading spirits of the country if properly protected in their efforts. In the hands of such men I believe the interests of the freedmen far safer than in those of most of the adventurer's who come from good old Yankee land, though a native of New England myself, and every drop of blood in my veins is *Radical*. For these generous, upright planters, and the numerous freedmen dependent upon them for wages, I feel a deep interest, and I *beg of you* to do your *utmost* for their protection by your voice and vote, and your influence with your fellow-legislators. On these prolific sugar lands, with the interest well protected by an adequate duty on foreign sugars and an equivalent duty on imported molasses (and also the internal revenue tax, now so burdensome, removed soon as the government can afford it), is the favored territory above all others on which to make the freedmen an example and the free labor experiment a glorious success. This is a golden opportunity, and one which the friends of freedom cannot afford to neglect. One intelligent planter remarked to me when walking over his sugar lands, "that he should hide behind the negro and accept his fate;" and again, "that I was an Abolitionist from principle, he from policy," etc. This furnishes the key to the situation. You could not, if you would, crush the Louisiana sugar planters without destroying the freedmen. Then, as the plantations are more generally and fully cultivated, the mere competition for laborers will *force* the reluctant to seek the confidence and friendship of the freedmen. While planters, on the comparatively unproductive lands of Virginia, parts of Georgia, the Carolinas, etc., can afford to pay but little for labor, and feel indifferent about retaining the freedmen among them, the sugar planters of this State can, if well protected by Congress, afford to pay good wages, and one of the chief concerns on the part of many already is in regard to securing a sufficient force of laborers. Some of the most liberal planters are giving their laborers a share of the crop, or its net proceeds when sold, advancing them whatever they are obliged to have during its production.

Offering you as an apology for this long letter my great anxiety to see the free labor sweets of this country well protected against competition with the slave labor product of other countries, and again urging your best efforts in behalf of this interest, I am most truly, sir, your obedient servant.

THE NEW RECONSTRUCTION BILL.

THE *World* comments upon the new Reconstruction bill, as follows:

The crude and foolish bill agreed on by the Reconstruction Committee yesterday, and carried through its second reading in the House, attests the strong necessity the Radicals feel themselves under of doing something, and the impossibility of their doing anything that will help them. They are like a pickerel jerked out of water and flung loose upon the dry land. They flounce and flounder, unable to "flop" back into the element where they were wont to cut their liquid way, and they expend their whole fund of spasmodic energy to bring themselves to the last gasp. A bill to remand the Southern States back to the custody of martial law, is an extreme and desperate expedient, carrying with it a confession that the Radicals have no resources of statesmanship, and are incapable of devising any civil measures to lift them out of the existing dead-lock.

In the first place, the production of such a bill is a virtual retreat from the project of impeaching the President. The sole purpose of dividing the South into five military departments for the administration of martial law, vesting the appointment of the five commanders in Gen. Grant, and suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, is to thwart and circumvent President Johnson. If he were out of office, or were expected to be put out of office, no such wild plan could be thought of. Such an attempt to sail round the obstructing isthmus of the Executive Department proves that there is no longer any expectation of digging through it. The only obstacle to Congress governing the South as it pleases, without so extreme a resort as martial law, is the opposition of the President; and a method which assumes that obstacle will continue to exist, is an admission that nothing is expected of impeachment.

It being thus virtually conceded that Mr. Johnson is to remain in office, the question arises whether this bill will suffice to muzzle him. The pivot on which the contemplated martial law is made to turn is Gen. Grant, who is required to designate the officers and superintend the system. But Gen. Grant must remain subordinate to the President, and, like all other officers of the army, subject to his command. It is not in the power of Congress to invert this relation, nor to transfer the obedience of the army to any other officer than the President. The Constitution declares that the President "shall be Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy, and of the militia when in actual service;" and an authority conferred by the Constitution cannot be revoked by law. The chief command of the army is authority to direct all its movements, to control all its officers, to assign to each of them his duties and exact his obedience. Congress can raise armies, provide for their support, and make rules for their government; but it can issue no command to any officer, nor interpose any officer between the Commander-in-chief and any portion of the army to interrupt the transmission, or break the authority, of his orders. The idea of taking Gen. Grant and a set of officers whom he is required to designate out of the control of the President, and relieving them from their subordination to him as Commander-in-chief, flies so directly in the teeth of the Constitution, that it can never be put in practical execution.

Another fatal objection to this scheme is, that it suspends the *habeas corpus* in time of peace. The Constitution declares that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, *in cases of rebellion or invasion*, the public safety may require it. At present, there is neither invasion nor rebellion in any part of the country. There is nowhere a single soldier in arms against the government, nor any refusal by any citizen to submit to its legal authority. Under such circumstances, a suspension of the *habeas corpus* is peremptorily forbidden, and Congress has no power to repeal this or any other part of the Constitution. If this bill passes, it will be null and void from the beginning, and the Supreme Court will so declare it.

We judge from the proceedings on this bill yesterday, and from the intimations made by Mr. Stevens, its introducer, that it is to be driven through the House, to-day, without debate, under the pressure of the previous question. We commend the prudence of gagging all discussion of this monstrosity, for never was there a proposition less fitted to bear the light of exposure. It is some consolation to think that it will prove as futile as it is abominable. So long as we have a fearless President and an honest Supreme Court, it can never be executed.

Loyal members of Congress, learn wisdom from the enemy, and make impeachment the first business in order—reconstruction afterward.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SECRETARY SEWARD AND MINISTER MOTLEY.

WASHINGTON, 29th.

THE President to-day sent to the Senate a reply to the resolution requesting him to communicate to that body, if in his opinion not inconsistent with the public interest, any correspondence between the Department of State and Mr. Motley, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Vienna, relating to his reported resignation of this post. The following is the correspondence:

MR. SEWARD TO MR. MOTLEY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, Nov. 21, 1866.

SIR: A citizen of the United States has addressed a letter to the President from Paris, in which he represents he had travelled extensively in Europe during the past year, in the course of which he had occasion to see something of our Ministers and Consuls in various countries; that most of those whom he met were bitterly hostile to the President and his Administration, and expressed that hostility in so open a manner as to astonish Americans and leave a very bad impression on Europeans. He adds that you do not pretend to conceal "your disgust," as he says you style it, at the President's whole conduct; that you despise American Democracy, and loudly proclaim that an English gentleman is the model of human perfection; that the President has deserted his pledges and principles, in common with Mr. Seward, who, you say, is "hopelessly degraded." Your denial or confirmation of the truth of these reports is requested.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

To J. Lathrop Motley, Esq.

MR. MOTLEY TO MR. SEWARD.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
VIENNA, Dec. 11, 1866.

Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State:

SIR: An hour or two ago I received a letter from you, dated Nov. 21, 1866, to which I hasten to reply. You inform me that a citizen of the United States has addressed a letter to the President from Paris, stating that in the course of the last year "he had occasion to see something of our ministers and consuls in various countries; that most of those whom he met were bitterly hostile to the President and the Administration, and expressed that hostility in so open a manner as to astonish Americans and to leave a very bad impression on Europeans." With the opening paragraph, relating generally to the United States ministers and consuls abroad, I have nothing especial to do. Other gentlemen are fully competent to answer for themselves.

You proceed to say, "he adds, that you do not pretend to conceal 'your disgust,' as he says you style it, at the President's whole conduct; that you despise American Democracy, and loudly proclaim that an English gentleman is the model of human perfection; that the President has deserted the pledges and principles in common with Mr. Seward, who, you say, is 'hopelessly degraded.'" You conclude by requesting me to deny or confirm the truth of these reports. My first impulse on receiving the letter was to content myself with a flat denial of their truth. On a little further reflection, however, I do not wish that there should be doubt as to my political sentiments as a representative of the foreign politics of the government. I have done my best faithfully to discharge my duties in strict conformity with my instructions. In the conflict of opinions in regard to home questions, especially that of reconstruction, my views have never been asked for by the United States government, and I should have considered it unbecoming and superfluous to volunteer a public declaration of them, as certainly should I have deemed it my duty to express them frankly whenever they were officially demanded. I do not understand that I am even now directly questioned on the subject, but after reading your letter, I owe it to myself to say a few words.

I have always believed it necessary that strong guarantees should be taken against a recurrence of the rebellion and the establishment of some form of slavery, before the seceded States should be readmitted to representation in Congress. Latterly I am inclined to the opinion that the noblest and the safest course would be by an Amendment of the Constitution prohibiting the distinction of race or color in regard to the attainment of the franchise, together with a general amnesty to be proclaimed by the President. These opinions in the privacy of my own household and to an occasional American visitor I have not concealed. The great question now preseting itself for solution demands a conscientious scrutinizing by every American who loves his country and believes in the human progress of which that country is one of the foremost representatives. I have never thought during my residence at Vienna that because I have the honor of being a public servant of the American people I am deprived of the right of discussing within my own walls the gravest subject that can interest freemen.

A minister of the United States is as deeply interested as others in all that affects the welfare of his country. In conversation with such of my colleagues or members of the government here as were interested in our politics, I have uniformly stated that the conflict of opinions now prevailing in the United States was inevitable in a free country. That such discussion was the very evidence of our freedom and of our capacity to govern ourselves. That to silence discussion belongs to despots, and not to a Republican government like ours, and that I had entire faith that the American people would settle all disputed questions with justice. I have always been cautious, however, in such considerations, to avoid any expressions of disrespect toward the President or his Cabinet.

I have uniformly stated that in our own country the people were not only theoretically but practically sovereign, and that when great political questions were to be solved, appeal was made to the ballot-box. I have steadily expressed the opinion that the President and Congress would be reconciled after the people should have pronounced its solemn verdict, and I have added that all parties in the United States, as I believed, honestly desired and required the re-establishment of the Union, however they might differ as to the wisest means of securing it. This is the way in which I have been in the habit of speaking officially or semi-officially, and this is my reply to the charges contained in your letter, so far as they regard in any way the President of the United States.

That I "despised American Democracy, and loudly proclaim that an English gentleman is the model of human perfection," is so pitiful a fabrication that I blush while I denounce it. Any one personally acquainted with me, or who has taken the trouble to read my writings, whether official or historical, knows that a more fervent believer in American Democracy than I am, does not exist in the world. My expressions of reverence for the American people during these few heroic years, has erred, if at all, on the side of enthusiasm, and have often seemed to the sceptical somewhat extravagant. I scorn to dwell longer on the contemptible charge.

That I have called Mr. Seward "hopelessly degraged," is a wild calumny, and wounds me deeply that you could listen for a moment to such a falsehood. In conclusion, I have only to add, that I beg herewith respectfully to resign my post as United States Minister at Vienna.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
J. LATHROP MOTLEY.

TENNESSEE.

NASHVILLE, Feb. 8.

THE House of Representatives elected a Committee of three members to-day to prosecute the impeachment of Judge Frazier of the Davidson County Criminal Court.

REWARDS OFFERED FOR THE ASSASSINATION OF UNION MEN—LEGISLATIVE INVESTIGATION.

The Nashville *Press and Times* of Feb. 4 contained the following statement:

We have received direct information of a diabolical conspiracy which has been entered into by certain rebel citizens of Cannon, White, and Warren counties, to procure the assassination of a number of leading and influential Union men, all late officers of the Federal army, residing in the IIId Congressional District. The following are the names of the persons marked out for death and the sums offered for making way with them:

For Col. W. B. Stokes	$5,000
For Col. Blackburn	4,000
For Col. Pleasure	4,000
For Capt. Vanatta	2,000
For Capt. Hathaway	2,000

A rebel citizen living near Alexandria, in DeKalb county, has offered to give $1,000 for the assassination of Capt. Vanatta. It is understood that three notorious cut-throats, who were once members of Champ Ferguson's gang of Bushwhackers have been employed to do the work. Several Union citizens, fearful of their lives, have fled to Alexandria for safety, where a number of discharged Federal soldiers, formerly belonging to Col. Stokes's cavalry, reside.

Our best men are murdered, and leading rebel newspapers call it "retributive justice." This plot for the wholesale assassination of other leading loyalists is the legitimate consequence of the incendiary and villainous articles of rebel organs. Can any man doubt that a loyal militia is imperatively required?

Though this startling assertion is denied by the Democratic papers in Nashville, the Tennessee Legislature, on the 4th, considered it worthy of investigation, and appointed a Committee for that purpose. In the debate in the House, Mr. Fuson, one of the members, said that this game of assassination was no news to him. Some of the men whose lives were menaced were his neighbors, and he lived near them when prowling enemies hunted them like wild beasts. He had himself been forced to hide in the woods from the outlaws. A part of the clan were killed, but a part still survive. He was satisfied of the truth of the statements published in the *Press and Times*. The offer of $5,000 for killing the Hon. W. B. Stokes was no new thing; it was offered long ago. The men who had been marked out for vengeance by these assassins, were always on their guard against attempts at assassination. The gang had already murdered many good citizens, and should be brought to justice.

The *Press and Times* adds: "No one will question the truth of Dr. Fuson's statements. He has personal knowledge of the facts of the case. Our information was not published until after careful consideration; it came from an unquestionable source, and we have not a shadow of doubt of its truth."

MARYLAND.

A petition to the United States Senate for the rejection of Gov. Swann as Senator from Maryland is being generally signed by the Union men of that State. It asserts the illegality of the Legislature which elected him, and concludes as follows:

Your memorialists charge that the election of the said Swann and the passage of all these laws have been made the subject of a corrupt bargain between said persons calling themselves Conservative Union men and said Swann as aforesaid, and the secession sympathizers of the Legislature and the State; and the said Swann, in his fraudulent annulling of the Registry law, and in his other acts aforesaid, did act with an understanding and on condition that he should be chosen as Senator.

Your memorialists also charge that votes were procured for said purposes by other improper and dishonest inducements to members, and by unseating a member of the Senate legally elected.

For the reasons herein stated, showing that the said Swann has procured his election by fraud and by a corrupt use of his power as Governor, and by bargain and conspiracy, your memorialists pray that his election be declared void, and that he be not admitted to the seat which he claims.

THE DEAD LOCK.

From the American Baptist.

THE Democratic papers are exulting over what they call the "dead lock" in our political affairs. President Johnson and the Supreme Court being in opposition to Congress, and the Republican party itself being on the verge of schism, it is taken for granted that the Legislature of the nation will soon be powerless; that they will have no means of protecting themselves against the Southern Senators and Representatives in combination with their Democratic comrades of the North. This dead lock, says the *World*, the Democratic party can very well endure, but to the Republican party it is unendurable. It completely "deprives the Republican party of any of the fruits of victory in the last Fall's campaign," and whether they go backward or forward, their fall is equally certain. "Retreat from their policy to exclude the South, liberates the great actual Democratic majority, and the days of the Republican party are ended."

Some truth in this. The *World* has the sagacity to see that the hesitating, wavering policy which the Republican party are likely to pursue, will be the sure prelude of their downfall. It argues that in order to have the least chance of success, it is necessary for them either to remodel the Supreme Court, or impeach the Executive, and neither of these measures will they dare undertake. Looking at the pressure which is brought to bear against the radical portion of Congress by many Republican papers, especially by the religious press, we feel no great confidence that impeachment will be possible. What Cobden said of the Republican party, that "they are always wanting in pluck," was never more applicable than it is to-day to that portion of the press. If impeachment fails, it will be through the aid and comfort given, consciously or unconsciously, to our bitterest enemies. The motives addressed to us to deter us from impeachment are degrading to our manhood as freemen, being almost entirely addressed to our fears. The plea that Johnson has done nothing worthy of impeachment, is now generally given up; it is acknowledged that he deserves it, but we must let him off, because we are so greatly in the majority that we can tie his hands and prevent his doing mischief. Tie his hands! Officers of the United States are at this day in peril of their lives in all the Southern States; one was murdered a few days ago in Texas by rebels; others would be shot down like dogs if they were to ride carelessly into the country unattended by a guard. Tie his hands! Not a single white Northern missionary dares to venture away from the military post to establish a mission in the interior. Not a single week passes without the news of some poor freedman butchered in cold blood by their old oppressors, and yet we fold our arms and talk of "tying the President's hands!" Shame on the recreancy and meanness of abandoning the men we have liberated to the tender mercies of these butchers—for that is precisely what we mean when we talk of leaving Andrew Johnson to run his course. We know that he is wickedly and wilfully refusing to protect the people over whom he is appointed ruler; we know that he neither does nor will carry out the provisions of the civil rights bill, thus neutralizing the acts of Congress in direct violation of his oath of office; and yet we must not impeach him lest he should make war upon Congress, and plunge us into another bloody struggle. Are we indeed such cowards? Then alas for our liberties—they are not worth the name.

We hope the Radicals in Congress may stand firm; everything depends upon their straightforward persistency. The *Watchman and Reflector* tells us that we should listen to such men as Mr. Dodge, "one of the first merchants and Republicans of the country," who reports that the directors of a charitable institution in New York were so frightened at the idea of impeachment, that they would not invest in United States securities, but put their money in a trust company. The *Watchman* thinks Mr. Dodge's testimony is more worthy of public attention than the harangues of men who would be wiser if they tarried in Jericho till their beards were grown." Very delicate language to use towards veterans like Stevens and Ashley, Butler, Boutwell, Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison! But abuse will not hurt them. They have borne it before, in their day, from the *Herald*, the *World*, and papers of that ilk. Now that the *Watchman* has taken up this strain, it is quite a relief to find that the *Herald* itself is returning to a much more reasonable mind. The editor says that the speculations of "weak-kneed alarmists who denounce it (impeachment) as nothing better than a Pandora's box, full of all sorts of evils and disasters, including a financial convulsion and another civil war," are purely imaginary; that upon the "charges and specifications of usurpation and infidelity, the issue will be as conclusive against Mr. Johnson as were the accusations against Charles the First and Louis the Sixteenth," though he will only lose his office instead of his head; that "all this, expressly ordained in the Constitution, will be perfectly fair, just and proper, and the country will so accept it. There will be no panic, no civil war, and no fuss about it, except among the fussy politicians." Further on he says, "All the fuss that we hear of panic, blood and thunder, as sure to come with Mr. Johnson's removal, is only that Chinese clamor of gongs and horrible dragons which never stands fire."

Though we quite agree with the *Herald's* opinion that the gongs and dragons will not stand fire, we are not at all so certain that there will be any fire for them to stand. If the members of Congress who are now nobly battling against usurpation and oppression should be deserted by any considerable portion of the Republican party, of course there will be no impeachment. Andrew Johnson will reign supreme till the end of his career; the five Conservatives in the Supreme Court will aid him in tossing to the winds the laws of Congress; and our next President will be a Johnsonian Democrat. This is the only possible solution to which the opponents of impeachment are guiding us.

IMPEACHMENT.

BY REV. S. H. MORSE.

MR. SUMNER has recently, in a brief speech made in the Senate, done much to prepare the country for the impeachment of President Johnson. He has strengthened the nerves of the Republican press, and silenced many misgivings. Public opinion is rallying to support the movement inaugurated in Congress by Mr. Ashley's resolution.

The case is new, and supplements our experience as a nation within the last few years, with a practical measure, affirming the full scope of a Democratic system of government. The questions arise, What relation do our government officials sustain to the people? What have the people a right to demand of any man whom they have constituted an officer of their affairs? They have a right to demand that their business be ably and faithfully managed. Government officials in this country are, or should be, regarded simply as *agents*. They are in matters of greater or less importance, as the case may be, to do the business of the Republic. The pomp of the older monarchical systems is foreign to our theory. We do not believe in government in any but the most modern sense. When we honestly confess our democratic faith, our idea of government appears unadorned and very simple. Our highest officer is a plain man with a salary of $25,000 a year, employed for four years to execute the laws which other plain men as wise or wiser than himself have enacted. In the business contract which we call our "Constitution," we have it arranged that when "the President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States" commit what we consider to be "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors," they "shall be" impeached and "removed from office." As it reads in the bond all is fair and square.

The question of Mr. Johnson's removal should not be embarrassed by considerations of fear. What the moral sense of the country privately confesses, may be openly and safely acted upon. No one can doubt—not Andrew Johnson himself—but that the moral sense of the northern half of the country, at least, feels itself outraged as never before by the conduct of any other incumbent of the same office. He alone has called forth feelings of utter disgust. James Buchanan nearly succeeded in doing so, and but for the mishap that enrolled Johnson's name in the list of Presidents, we might have regarded his partial success as complete.

"Now has his fame grown almost white."

When, therefore, it is urged that, though by general confession, Mr. Johnson has been declared wholly unfit for the office he holds, yet it is not prudent or wise to try to impeach him, we reply, the moral sense of the country should have an opportunity to vindicate itself. Party prospects need not be contemplated. Questions of deranged finance, threats of renewed civil war, are to be cared for when these actually arise. The country is equal to all emergencies of this kind, if, indeed, such things shall attend the performance of a plain duty. But why this alarm whenever it is proposed to deal justly with the destroyer of the nation's peace? Is the finance of the country firmer, is the danger of civil outbreaks lessened, are real prosperity and peace nigher with a pro-slavery President at Washington?

Mr. Sumner has impressively recalled these words of President Lincoln. "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves and then we shall save our country." In the past, danger has only arisen after a failure to proceed upon such advice. It need not be concealed that Mr. Lincoln himself lost the force of many great opportunities by his timidity in following his own councils. In the case of McClellan, what disgrace and weary months of disaster and suffering were submitted to in deference to supposed political dangers and party necessities. Then, as now, we had threats of civil war in the North, assertions that the "chief" would appeal to the country, summon the army to his support, and "resist the revolutionary schemes of the enemies of the Constitution." But as soon as the order for McClellan's removal was issued, all this threatening ceased; we heard no more of "civil war in the North;" the "chief" became a "martyr," and moved out of the country. In the case of the proclamation of freedom to the slaves, predictions of disturbance, of open war at the North, and assertions of the utter uselessness of the edict,—in which the President himself seemed at one time to join, saying, "It would be like the Pope's Bull against the comet,"—were plenty. What followed that great event of Lincoln's administration is known to all the world. No disaster, but strength on every hand. Then for the first time we began to gather in the moral support of other lands. For the first time, then, our own citizens and soldiers knew the full meaning of the struggle, and felt that

"The years have never dropped their sand
On mortal issue vast and grand
As our's to-day."

We are now called upon to repeat a similar experience. We are to "disenthrall ourselves," and save the country from what must otherwise be for years to come an irreparable disaster. To surmount the difficulties we must "rise with the occasion." Let Congress proceed with the investigation in whatever manner will secure a thorough and fair presentation of the case. If impeachment follow, three months from that date, with a loyal President at the helm, Andrew Johnson will seem as old, and be as nearly forgotten as Pierce and Buchanan. There are those who yet ask, "But what if Congress fail to impeach the President? will that not strengthen him and make matters still worse?" We answer, in the first place, this is not a proper question to consider. It was wise advice that Gasparin gave us at the commencement of the war: "It does not depend upon us to succeed but only to be *right*. Do what you *ought*. I know of no policy more luminous either in politics or elsewhere." The fear is that the President has so guarded his acts that *technically*, under the forms of the law, a verdict cannot be made out against him. The *moral* verdict is already rendered. He cannot change that, nor escape its penalties. Men will distinguish between the man and his cunning, and honor Congress even for a failure in an honest attempt to relieve the country from the interference of one who is a disgrace to any people, and an ugly obstacle in the path of the proper reconstruction of the Union.

There need be no excitement. Let it be a cool, deliberate purpose, so well accomplished that it shall stand for all time as the record of a brave, determined people, who quietly held their public officers responsible for their behavior.

—*The Radical for February.*

THE DEAD LOCK.

From the Adams (Mass.) Transcript.

THE present situation of affairs is as remarkable as it is critical and alarming. After fighting four years at fearful cost, and achieving a magnificent victory over rebellion, the American people find themselves baffled and paralyzed by the traitors they supposed they had conquered. By the treachery of Johnson, they behold the leading conspirators pardoned and raised to power in the South, and wielding the machinery of the State governments and the influence of the press as actively against the republic as ever. They behold also the men who stood by the Union during the terrible struggle universally persecuted and outraged, and their situation hourly becoming worse. The rule of despotism over the entire South is remorseless and unparalleled. The only attempt at free speech and discussion was trampled out in blood in the streets of New Orleans by the banditti of treason, under the inspiration and direction of the President of the nation. Not one of the assassins has been even indicted—the grand jury of the city refusing to find a bill. The fate of the loyalists of New Orleans is a warning and was intended as such, to prevent any further opposition to the supremacy and programme of the traitors. Treason, to-day, dominates from the Potomac to the Gulf, and tramples loyalty beneath its feet, and the nation is powerless to prevent. The traitors have risen from their stricken battle-field to become dictators and masters of their conquerors. The people, through their agents and representatives, pass the Freedmen's Bureau bill for the protection of their allies, when Johnson at the suggestion of traitors vetoes it. They pass the Civil Rights bill, and this is vetoed also. They passed it over his head and it becomes a law, but it is a dead letter and its provisions are defied and violated. Congress passes an amendment to the Constitution and presents it to the Southern States as a condition of their restoration. This too is insolently and unanimously rejected and Johnson approves and encourages. The traitors insist upon instant representation and increased power, without condition, and the Northern copperheads back their claim with threats of another civil war unless their demands are granted. We are so familiar with this spectacle that astonishment and indignation have died out by repetition. But contemplate this historical wonder and phenomenon. At the close of a gigantic war and rebellion, the guilty leaders, insolent with pardons, at once clamor for the possession of the government they fought to ruin and it is made a ground of complaint against Congress and the Republican party that they will not surrender the Republic into their hands. To-day, pardoned and reinvigorated treason, through its tool in the White House, baffles, insults, and defies the American people. The rebellion in spirit and purpose confronts the nation now as really and relentlessly as it did before Lee surrendered. With Johnson in the White House, the traitors are as virtually in power as though Jeff Davis himself was President. We don't believe the leading rebels would exchange Johnson for Davis if they could have their choice. Here, then, we have arrived to this practical deadlock between the nation and the rebellion. The people cannot move because treason opposes; cannot protect its friends and allies in the South, because treason opposes; cannot rectify the unequal representations between the sections; cannot protect the National Legislature from the polluting presence of conspirators; cannot establish impartial suffrage and justice; cannot permanently secure the national debt because treason opposes. Treason, intrenched in the White House, holds the nation at bay, defies its will recently expressed at the ballot-box, and plots for the control of the government at the next Presidential election. It was thought that Johnson would be affected by the voice of the people, but it is plain that he is not. He sets himself more obstinately than ever against the popular purpose. The nation needs rest, needs peace, safety and reorganization; but it is farther off than ever. Nothing can be done while Andrew Johnson remains in office. There can be no reconstruction, no union, for the next two years unless the nation accept the reconstruction and union which pardoned rebels offer. Unless the triumphant nation submits to the rebellion it conquered, there can be no progress for two long years more. The people are not disposed to be checkmated and finally defeated in this way. There is a growing feeling in favor of the impeachment of the President, if the necessary evidence exists of his commission of the acts which justify removal. The speculators and timid conservatives may flutter, and the traitors and copperheads may rave and threaten; but the thoughtful and fearless people are resolved that the victory they won shall not be surrendered by Andrew Johnson. In spite of all the efforts to alarm the country, there is a manifest popular calm and approval of investigation. Let the committee proceed with the investigation, assemble the evidence, and present it to the country, and if a case is made out the people will approve and applaud his removal.

THE HIGH COURT OF IMPEACHMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

From the New York Herald.

"BUT for all that," said Galileo, "the world does move;" and this is the key note, the great idea upon which this journal was founded and the secret of its success. When, looking carefully at the drift of events, the pressure of public opinion and the necessities of the age, we first boldly struck out for a Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery, the proposition was pooh-poohed in some quarters, denounced in others as involving an overthrow of the Constitution, and was generally classed with "the Pope's bull against the comet." But public opinion was brought to bear by the discussion of that Amendment until it was fixed in the supreme law of the land. In the same way the doubts, the incredulity and apprehensions which prevailed when we first broached the saving alternative of Andrew Johnson's impeachment are rapidly disappearing. Journals of all parties and all sections are joining in the discussion. The great body of the people, in having their attention drawn to the Constitution, the precedents established and the teachings of history, are already disabused of the fallacy that there is something of that divinity about our President which "hedges in a king," and they realize the fact that under the powers of the two houses of Congress his impeachment and displacement are as plain a case as the removal of a village postmaster.

It is a necessity in a constitutional government that in some department the ultimate sovereignty over all the others shall exist. Experience in England established this authority in the Parliament over the King, after many bloody conflicts, from 1625 to 1688, when, under the Prince of Orange, the subordination of the King, through his Cabinet, to the Commons, was established. Thus even the great and powerful Duke of Wellington, as Prime Minister, in coming into conflict with the Commons on the Reform bill of his day, found

himself as powerless as the weakest of his predecessors. His resignation involved the submission of the King to the Commons, the law making representatives of the people. Our Constitution, framed upon the English model, embraces the English system in the matter of impeachments; but ours is more direct and explicit in subordinating the President himself to the will of the two houses. An adverse vote of the Commons displaces the English Ministry, and the King or Queen appoints a new set of ministers, in accordance with the vote, and this ends the conflict. With us the Cabinet is not disturbed by an adverse majority in the Commons or House of Representatives; but the President and Cabinet, in pushing their hostility to a usurpation of the exclusive powers of Congress, may be impeached by the House and removed on conviction by the Senate. The security of the Constitution against Congress is in the people and in their election every two years of a new House of Representatives, with one-third of the Senate, by the State Legislatures.

Hence the safety of the sovereign power of the government in Congress. Nor does this sovereign power over the President depend upon his conviction by the Senate. An opinion of Madison is quoted by a copperhead contemporary to prove that Mr. Johnson cannot be suspended; but we think it proves, if anything, that he can be. We have had, however, enough of the constitutional opinions of both Madison and Jefferson in their State rights heresies and their disastrous consequences, as developed in the State rights of sovereignty, secession and rebellion. A terrible war has washed out all those old heresies in the blood of half a million of men. We live in a new age, too, of common schools, common sense, railroads, steamships and telegraphs. We have safely passed the first and severest ordeal of a great political revolution. Certain great issues have been decided by that final appeal to the bayonet, and these issues must now be established in the government, or the party charged with this responsibility must go to pieces. Andrew Johnson blocks the way. He must be removed or Congress, in the surrender of its rightful authority, will fall into disgrace, and the Executive, as he chooses till the people can reach him, may be President or King, as prophsied by Mr. Seward.

When brought before the Senate for trial Mr. Johnson, as the prisoner at the bar before that high court, may be suspended or be permitted nominally to hold his office, as on his parole of honor. He will probably be allowed his parole, in view of a short trial and speedy conviction. His case need not occupy more than ten or fifteen days. The broad charge of usurpation and the specifications in reference to his assumptions of the law-making power over the rebel States will be ample enough for all purposes. There will be no necessity to lengthen the case by lugging in his famous off-hand inaugural address in the Senate, or the stump speeches of his Chicago pilgrimage, or his excuses for the New Orleans massacre, or his appointment of rebels and copperheads to office, or his revocation of certain orders of Gen. Sickles, thereby reviving the negro whipping-post and cat-o'-nine-tails of the old North Carolina slave code. On the broad issue of executive usurpation he may be impeached, tried, convicted and removed within the limit of ten days. Nor will his removal stir up another civil war or set the Potomac on fire. He will go off as quietly as John Tyler went off from the White House, only to find at the dock that even the steamboat had left him.

Our belligerent copperhead organs, therefore, may stop their senseless clamor; the Manhattan Club may suspend their boxing up of rifles and baskets of champagne and crackers and cheese for a military trip to Washington; the Hon. James Brooks may hang up his Chinese war gong; the Hon. Horace Greeley and the Hon. Mr. Raymond, poor, quibbling, timid, trembling political leaders on great occasions, may feel easy; the Millerites may get on their white cotton robes for the day of judgment; but the Angel Gabriel will not for some time yet wake up old Oliver Cromwell. With Andrew Johnson's removal a substitute will be provided; for there are perhaps twenty-five, yea, fifty thousand men in the United States ready, if called upon, and competent to take his place. Take off the official mantle of Lincoln, and the people see that it is only "Andy Johnson."

THE NEW RECONSTRUCTION BILL.

Mr. Stevens, from the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, reported a bill to provide for the more efficient government of the insurrectionary States. The bill was read in detail, and is as follows:

A BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE MORE EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT OF THE INSURRECTIONARY STATES.

Whereas the pretended State governments of the late so-called Confederate States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas and Arkansas were set up without the sanction of the people; and whereas the so-pretended governments afford no protection for life or property, and countenance and encourage lawlessness and crime; and whereas it is necessary that peace and good order should be enforced in the so-called States until loyal and republican State governments can be legally established:

Therefore, be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled. That the so-called States shall be divided into military districts and made subject to the military authority of the United States as hereinafter prescribed; and for that purpose Virginia shall constitute the First district; North Carolina and South Carolina the Second district; Georgia, Alabama and Florida the Third district; Mississippi and Arkansas the Fourth district, and Louisiana and Texas the Fifth district.

Section 2, And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the General of the army to assign to the command of each of said districts an officer of the regular army not below the rank of brigadier general, and to detail a sufficient military force to enable such officer to perform his duties and enforce his authority in the district to which he is assigned.

Section 3, And be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of each officer, assigned as aforesaid to protect all persons in their rights of person and property, to suppress insurrection, disorder and violence, and to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals; and to this end he may allow civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of and to try offenders, or when in his judgment it may be necessary for the trial of offenders, he shall have power to organize military commissions or tribunals for that purpose, anything in the Constitution and laws of the so-called States to the contrary notwithstanding; and all legislative and judicial proceedings or processes to prevent or control the proceedings of said military tribunals, and all interference by said pretended State governments with the exercise of military authority under this act, shall be void and of no effect.

Section 4, And be it further enacted, That courts and judicial officers of the United States shall not issue writs of *habeas corpus* in behalf of persons in military custody unless some commissioner or officer on duty in the district wherein the person is detained shall endorse upon said petition a statement certifying, upon honor, that he has knowledge or information as to the cause and circumstances of the alleged detention, and that he believes the same to be wrongful, and further, that he believes that the endorsed petition is preferred in good faith and in furtherance of justice; and, not to hinder or delay the punishment of crime, all persons put under military arrest by virtue of this act, shall be tried without unnecessary delay, and no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted.

Section 5, And be it further enacted, That no sentence of any military commission or tribunal hereby authorized affecting the life or liberty of any person shall be executed until it is approved by the superior officer in command of the district; and the laws and regulations for the government of the army shall not be affected by this act, except in so far as they conflict with its provisions.

The bill having been read, Mr. Stevens inquired of the Speaker what would be the effect of the House adjourning now.

The Speaker replied that if the House adjourned now the bill just reported would be the first thing in order to-morrow. After the reading of the journal it would continue before the House until disposed of.

The bill was read twice and ordered to be printed.

Senator Trumbull was entrusted with a memorial from loyal citizens of Louisiana, asking for the establishment of a new State government, in order to free themselves from rebel despotism. In a speech on the occasion in the Senate, he said:

"I know we have proposed a Constitutional Amendment for the ratification of the States in the Union, and if it should be held that the ratification of that Amendment by three-fourths of the governing States made it valid, that would not remedy the existing evils in the State of Louisiana, or any other of the rebellious States where a similar condition of things exist. Something more would be necessary. *It would be necessary to enter those States, and hurl from power the disloyal element which controls and governs them.* Need we wait for the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment to do that? In my judgment, we need not. I think Congress has complete control over the whole subject. Under the Constitution it is incumbent on Congress to see that there is guaranteed to each State in the Union a Republican form of government."

That is what must be done. "That rebel element must be hurled from power," and the reins of government placed in the hands of loyal men. Congress has the right to go to the very verge of their power—to stretch their authority until it cracks—in order to put the governments of the Southern States into loyal hands.—*Exchange.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1867.

MILITARY TERRITORIES.

We consider Stevens's bill the best thing yet offered. Congress has never before got so near to a real basis of settlement. No doubt the *idea* and *rule* of safe reconstruction is this: no hitherto rebel community should be admitted to any share in the government until such guarantees against secession, slavery, caste, and their attendant evils, are secured as render it absolutely certain that no possible effort of all rebeldom united could ever disturb or displace one of those guarantees an iota. This is the idea of reconstruction. Victory gives us the right to claim thus much. After a civil war between Civilization and Barbarism—a war between *two ideas*—the conquering party has a right to demand such security as will render it impossible for the conquered idea ever again to trouble its conqueror. Practical statesmanship should *aim* at this, and come as near to it as possible. But it must be remembered that such guarantees are not parchment agreements; paper amendments laid up in the archives at Washington. The only trustworthy guarantees are those *elements* out of which governments grow. In our case, these are *education, tenure of land, free speech, equality of political rights, security of person and property, industry protected.* In providing for these we must remember the abnormal condition of the negro at the South. Hitherto detained from getting either instruction or property, the victim of a cruel, relentless, and universal prejudice for centuries, and just now doubly hated because his weight in the scale gave victory to the North, his case cannot, at present, be brought within those rules which apply to ordinary communities. The *legal recognition* of equal rights is usually enough to secure, in a few years, their practical enjoyment by the class just admitted to them. But with the negro, in present circumstances, it is idle to expect this. These seeds of good government, education, and the rest, must not only be planted; their normal, and healthy, and gradual development must be secured by adequate protection from all opposing influences, *until they are so far advanced as to defy harm.*

All evidence from the South is of one kind. Every report shows that the strong arm of the Federal government must hold the elements of the rebellious territories in its grasp until education and the quiet possession of land, peaceable exercise of political rights, continued enjoyment of civil rights, the *habit* of free speech, and full protection to his industry and gains, shall have put the negro into the same relation to the other classes of Southern society that the middle classes of Europe bear to the richer and longer privileged classes there. When the South reaches this point, the different classes and elements may be safely left to fight out their differences and adjust their relations uninterfered with. Until that point is reached, it is both unjust to the negro and unsafe for the Union to allow them unmixed self-government.

A military supervision under Congressional superintendence is the best plan. Hence we welcome this bill of Mr. Stevens. It must, however, be borne in mind that our government will largely take its tone and character, for the time being, from the Executive. The spirit which he inspires will, spite of all opposition, be felt to the extreme edge of the Republic, will color and permeate every branch and the minutest leaf of the tree. The first step, therefore, indispensable and preliminary to all others, is to remove the rebel who is now encamped in the White House—who, aided by soured and revengeful politicians in his Cabinet and by a fossil and servile Bench, baulks Congress and resuscitates half dead rebellion. Compared with such colossal sin and evil as his Forrest, Mayor Munroe and Surratt are mean game for a nation to follow.

Wendell Phillips.

THE STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

Bills have been introduced in both branches of our State Legislature providing for the calling of a Constitutional Convention by the election of delegates on the twenty-third of April next. The Senate bill proposes that all colored men shall vote for delegates, without reference to the property qualification. In this it is justified by both precedent and common sense. The Assembly bill restricts the voters for delegates to white men, and such colored men as are qualified by the requisite amount of property. Both bills ignore women. We understand that Senator Folger, in the Senate Committee, presented and urged the claims of woman to a voice in this election, but was overruled. The bills have not yet been definitely acted upon in either the Senate or Assembly. Now is pre-eminently the time when the women of the Empire State, and all who believe that woman ought to be recognized legally as endowed with equal human rights, should, by general concert of action, flood the Legislature with tens of thousands of petitions demanding suffrage for women on equal conditions with men in the election for the delegates to this Convention. There is no time to lose. A day of earnest effort now will be worth a whole year after the Convention shall have been held, and the desired end not obtained. We urge every woman and every man who believes in democracy, to make it an individual duty and give immediate attention to this work, and thus secure right action in the Legislature in providing for this revisory Convention. From delegates elected by the votes of all the people we may confidently expect satisfactory results. Otherwise the chances for a favorable revision of the Constitution, especially with reference to the unjust proscription on account of sex, will be greatly diminished.

In the central counties Parker Pillsbury, Charles Lenox Remond, Susan B. Anthony, Miss Bisbie, Louisa Jacobs, and Rev. Olympia Brown, as representatives of the American Equal Rights Association, are holding meetings and conventions with gratifying results, for the special purpose of awakening a general public interest in this work. But it is impossible for them to seasonably canvass the entire State. Every true man and woman, without waiting for appeal from any one, should make it his and her business to request by petition the members of the Legislature to follow the dictates alike of wisdom and precedent, and provide for a Convention which shall be truly representative in its character, with due regard for the rights of all, black and white, men and women, in whose common interest government is, or should be, instituted. We trust that colored men and women will not only vote for the delegates, but be chosen in due proportion as delegates. Upon this basis our State government should be reconstructed, for the general welfare of our own citizens, and as a guide in the solution of the pending and perplexing problem of national reconstruction.

THIRTY-THIRD NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary report to their friends their gratifying success in the effort to fill the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Giving fair consideration to the unpropitious weather, the attendance was as large as they expected, and the contributions will enable the Society to meet the close of the year out of debt. The sympathy and co-operation they have met with has been most encouraging, and shows that the events of the passing months have fully roused the old friends, and some new ones, to their duty. Sustained by their success, they join hands with all friends for the labor of another year. The contributions amount to something more than TWENTY-FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS.

The Committee appointed to investigate the New Orleans massacre have made a detailed and very important report. We have not space at command this week to give even a synopsis of it. It corroborates in every important particular the accounts which we gave very fully in The Standard immediately after the horrible event. Their report was accompanied by a bill for the reorganization of the State government of Louisiana, which has already passed the House by a decisive vote, and, it is said, will be passed by the Senate within a day or two. It provides that the President, with the consent of the Senate, shall appoint a loyal Governor, who has had no part in the rebellion, who shall hold office for one year; that he shall also appoint a Provisional Council of nine persons, who shall have the qualifications prescribed for the Governor, and exercise, with that officer, all legislative power; that all officers of the State chosen by the Council and Governor shall be loyal men, able to take the test-oath; that on June 1, 1867, all male citizens of the age of 21 years, without distinction of race or color, who have resided in the State one year, and have never aided the rebellion, shall have the right to vote for a Governor, State officers, and members of the Legislature; that in October next an election by such qualified voters shall be held for members of a Convention to form a State Constitution; that the Secretary of War shall issue orders to regulate these elections; that the Constitution shall not permit any distinction of men on account of race or color, and shall prohibit the payment of any debts contracted on behalf of the rebellion, and shall recognize the perpetual union of the States; that the President shall forthwith appoint a military commander for the State, who shall enforce laws which the civil authorities neglect; that no laws passed by the Provisional Council shall be valid till Congress has approved them; that until Louisiana shall be admitted to representation in Congress, a delegate, properly qualified, shall be admitted, with the same rights as a delegate from a Territory; that all laws of the State consistent with this act shall remain in force.

The Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held on Tuesday, May 7th, in the new, pleasant, and commodious Steinway Hall. The Church of the Puritans, as will be seen by a paragraph which we copy elsewhere from the N. Y. *Times*, is about to undergo alterations and be surrendered in part to the demands of business. Our friends will find Steinway Hall equally easy of access (located on Fourteenth street, a few doors east of Union Square), and in some respects preferable to the Church. It is provided with a fine organ. Our friend Sigismond Lasar, Esq., an accomplished organist, generously proffers his services to the Society for the Anniversary occasion, to be assisted by Mr. Charles L. Gunn, an excellent vocalist, who will lead the singing. Business sessions will be held on Wednesday, May 8. From the present aspect of public affairs, the meeting this year is likely to be one of unusual importance.

Anna E. Dickinson will deliver her new lecture—"Something to Do"—at the Cooper Institute, in this city, on Tuesday evening next. Hon. Horace Greeley will preside. This lecture is regarded by many of Miss Dickinson's friends as her masterpiece. It is a broader and higher treatment of what is technically called the "Woman Question" than was given in her former lecture—"Woman's Work and Wages"—and has made a deep impression in places where it has been delivered.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton will give the second lecture of the Brooklyn Fraternity course on Tuesday evening, February 19th. Her theme will be "Equal Rights." Of American women who have for the past dozen years written and spoken in vindication of equal human rights, irrespective of sex, Mrs. Stanton is the ablest and justly the most distinguished. This will be her first appearance at the Brooklyn Academy, and we trust she will be greeted by a large audience.

Hon. Charles Sumner will please accept our thanks for a bound volume of the Report of the Department of Agriculture; also, for the President's Message, Reports of other Departments, and documents of the Second Session of the Thirty-ninth Congress.

The Springfield *Republican*, in noticing the International Anti-Slavery Conference, to be held in Paris the second or third week of June next, says: "The time and place for the proposed Conference are auspicious, and the United States should be represented by the ablest champions of liberty it can send, as doubtless the other Christian nations will be."

Mr. Fowler, of Tennessee, presented to the U. S. Senate, on the 7th inst., the dispatch announcing the passage by the House of Representatives of Tennessee, of the bill for negro suffrage in that State, and said it announced the greatest victory since the war commenced.

We are reluctantly compelled to omit a letter from our Philadelphia correspondent, just received, but too late for insertion this week. We have several other communications on hand, for which we hope to find space next week.

In the Senate of the Kansas Legislature, on the 6th inst., the Suffrage bill was amended by striking out the word male and adopting an educational qualification after 1870.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF JOHNSON.

Rev. M. D. Conway writes to the Boston *Commonwealth*:

The Atlantic cable has never before brought news which has excited such a profound interest as when it announced that the House of Representatives had determined to impeach the President. When the *Commonwealth* said recently that the opinion of the people of Great Britain concerning America was a matter of profound indifference to the latter, I suppose it referred to the opinion of the foes of American institutions. It can hardly be a matter of indifference to intelligent Americans what Mill, and Bright, and Hughes and Taylor, and Newman, think of their country—the Bradfords and Standishes of to-day who are battling with the elements to reach a new Plymouth Rock on which to found a new England. And so I will take it for granted that it will not be unimportant to state that so far as I have been able to learn the opinion of these leading friends of America, they feel deeply the moral magnificence of the determination—if it shall happily prove such—of our republic to purge itself of the shame and scandal of having raised a beast to be the Chief Magistrate of the United States. So long as Johnson remains at the head of the nation, every foe of liberty rejoices; it is a *reductio ad absurdum* for republican government. Whatever scandal there may be apprehended in confessing and showing by a trial the criminality of an American President, it is nothing to the scandal of retaining him in his exalted office when his crimes have become notorious. This is the drift of the best European opinion—of that opinion which has a claim to be felt in America and everywhere else, so long as intelligence and humanity are regarded. When the news that seemed to be the most decisive reached us, I was in the company of the three greatest exiles of the world—Joseph Mazzini, Ledro Rollin, and Karl Blind—and it is impossible for me to express the enthusiasm that glowed in their eyes, as, with the tidings before them, they drank to America. Each of them declared his belief that the removal of Johnson would be a more sublime victory than the fall of Richmond—"even," so one of them said, "as he that ruleth his own spirit is greater than he that taketh a city." Mazzini dwelt on the grandeur with which it would be seen by the old world that the Western Republic could thrust, by constitutional means, obstacles from its path which in the old world had to be done by such infernal weapons as the revolution and the axe, which injure those who use them as well as those at whom they are aimed. Let every patriot in the United States feel that the eyes of the old world, and of the wronged millions in it, are riveted upon our republic in this crisis, and that if, having shown its external power, it shall now prove its internal and moral character, it will be felt everywhere that the argument against the old world system is closed and the verdict no longer doubtful. Of course the *Times*, and all the smaller fry who ever and instinctively favor our ruin, rave against the impeachment; and we are always safe when we are disappointing them. Our existence is our unpardonable sin in their eyes.

PERSONAL.

Mrs. E. A. Kingsbury is lecturing very successfully upon Impartial Suffrage in Western New York.

Thomas Hughes has found that his engagements will not permit him to continue as the correspondent of the New York *Tribune*.

Private letters say that Thomas Carlyle intends paying America a visit next year, or the year thereafter, thus executing a purpose long cherished.

Mrs. Stowe has completed a story of "New England Life of the Last Generation." Some of her friends talk of it as her masterpiece. It is said to be full of queer characters, ably and humorously portrayed. It will not be published until Autumn.

Anna E. Dickinson has presented to the physician who attended her at Rockford, two beautifully-chased solid silver medallion goblets, bearing the following inscription:

"To Charles H. Richings, M.D., in remembrance of a life well saved; with grateful regard, from Anna E. Dickinson—1867.

The Boston *Commonwealth* says: "It speaks well for the intellectual and parliamentary ability of Mr. Edward G. Walker, the colored member of the Legislature, from Charlestown, that in a contest last week upon a point of business routine he beat the champions of the two wings of the Republican party respectively—Hon. F. W. Bird and Hon. N. A. Thompson—and carried the House by nineteen majority.

John Russell Young, Esq., managing editor of the *Tribune*, is now absent from his post in Florida for a period of needed rest. The duties of his position are very arduous, sufficient to tax to the uttermost the physical endurance of any man. Under his able management the *Tribune* has gained largely in public favor. In Mr. Young's absence, his duties devolve upon and are efficiently discharged by Mr. George W. Smalley.

Alberto Mario, the husband of Jessie White Mario, has just sent to the Italian Minister of War the subjoined letter. Signor Mario was a captain of the staff with Garibaldi in the late war:

Sir: For the same reason which prevented me from accepting the medal for military valor in 1860, I cannot accept it now. A Republican now as then, I neither can nor ought to receive decorations from the monarchy. Your Excellency will understand that in this refusal there cannot be intended the least shade of discourtesy, the matter being a mere question of principle.

Believe me, &c., Alberto Mario.

P. T. Barnum, Esq., is likely to be nominated as a candidate for Congress from the Bridgeport (Conn.) district. Mr. Barnum's record, as a member of the Connecticut State Legislature, is a very creditable one. All through our severe national crisis, he has been an outspoken advocate of the claims of the colored race to impartial freedom and political equality. Probably to him as much, if not more than to any other man, belongs the credit of what progress has been made in Connecticut towards a better type of Republicanism. If elected, he would be a great improvement upon most of the men who have of late represented that State at the National Capitol.

Wendell Phillips recently delivered a lecture in Boston on "Daniel O'Connell." The Boston *Pilot* closes a long and appreciative notice of the lecture as follows: "Fortunate will Mr. Phillips be when his acts are history, and he has passed away from the scenes of busy life, if there shall some large-hearted man arise in this his own, or in any other country, who, with equal fidelity, with the same spirit of justice, and with powers as rare as his own, shall attest the work of his life and crown the altar of his fame as fully and impartially as he has done those of Daniel O'Connell."

Theodore Tilton is still lecturing with cheering success in the West. In reply to a correspondent curious to know if he is engaged to Miss Anna E. Dickinson, he writes from Ottawa, Ill., as follows:

My Dear Sir: In reply to your kind inquiry whether the story be indeed true, that I am to marry my pleasant friend Miss Anna Dickinson, permit me just to mention (what must suffice for the present) that in this as in every other important matter, I am bound by a rule which I have observed for now nearly eleven years; and that is not to take a conclusive action without the advice of Mrs. Elizabeth R. Tilton, a very sensible woman, and the wife of Yours truly,

Theodore Tilton.

Charles Lenox Remond and Miss Louisa Jacobs are lecturing with encouraging success in Central New York. A letter just received from Mr. Remond, dated Brockett's Bridge, Herkimer county, Feb. 10, says:

"We have been in the Mohawk Valley for eight or ten days. To me it is new ground, and not the less hard, harsh and malignant towards our race and their rights. If the sentiment of some of the towns and villages was indicative of things at large, I should indeed despair; but these rough influences cannot look us squarely in the face, much less dare they meet us in manly argument in the arena of manly and courteous debate. They can curse and call us by all manner of names on the sidewalks, upon the corner of the streets, and in the bar-rooms; but in the meeting we pay them off with both principle and compound interest. Once in a while they get something in the shape of a Waterloo defeat, and then our march is onward. Nor do we rest outside of the gates, but into the city and upon the flag-staff of the Capitol fling out our banner, bearing the motto—'Universal Suffrage and Equal Rights for all.'"

Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson delivered his lecture on Society at Madison, Wisconsin, last Saturday evening. The next day he discoursed at the Unitarian church on the Immortality of the Soul. No notice had been given, and few were aware that he would be there. But the editor of the Madison *State Journal* was present, and says:

"Those who had the good fortune to be present, however they may have differed in some respects from his views, could hardly fail to be deeply impressed with a discourse so rich in learning, thought, religious feeling, and spiritual insight. He began by speaking of the different modes of sepulture by different people, as illustrative of their religious views. He spoke of the great solicitude felt by the ancient Egyptians for the body, describing the funeral rites of the Greeks, and showed how, when Christianity was introduced, this Pagan care for the dead body was still retained. The old churches in Europe were originally sepulchers. But in recent times men were coming to care less for the body. They were no longer so anxious to exclude the atoms composing it from the vast circulation of nature. We were beginning to lay out pleasant gardens wherein to place our dead in the earth.

"And religious literature was beginning to treat more how to live instead of making death the chief object of thought as formerly. The proper discharge of the duties of the present hour was the best possible preparation for the future. The universal belief in a future life, the common desire of all men for a continued existence, was the highest evidence of the immortality of the soul. If continued existence were good for us it would be given us. We should be content with that knowledge. Jesus never explicitly taught the doctrine of a personal immortality. Plato and Cicero had the weakness to teach it. Jesus, by his words and acts did not teach, but made men themselves feel eternal. The dissatisfaction of the mind with any other solution of the problem was the blazing evidence of its immortality."

TO THE CONTRIBUTORS TO THE SHAW MONUMENT FUND.

Shortly after the assault on Fort Wagner, a sum of money was placed in my hands for the purpose of erecting a monument to Col. Shaw and his comrades of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteers who fell within the enemy's works in leading the storming party in that attack. This money was equally contributed by their surviving comrades of the 54th, by the men of the 1st. South Carolina Volunteers, and by the freedmen and women of the Sea Islands of South Carolina. The intention of the donors was to place a monument on the spot where these brave men fell. Plans were drawn and a corner-stone for a monument prepared; but circumstances have prevented me from completing the work, and it has recently been suggested that some other disposition should be made of this fund. Under the excellent care of the Treasurer, Maj. E. W. Hooper it is now drawing seven per cent. interest, and amounts to three thousand five hundred dollars. The only charges against it are the architects plans and the corner-stone above referred to, the cost of which Maj. Hooper has generously defrayed, that the sum originally contributed might remain intact. Anxious to fulfil my trust in a manner which shall be satisfactory to all interested, I have this day transferred the sole care and disposition of the Shaw Monument Fund to a Board of Trustees, to consist of Brevet-Brig.-Gen. E. N. Hallowell, President; Col. T. W. Higginson, Hon. George W. Curtis, Brevet Brig.-Gen. R. Saxton, Maj. E. W. Hooper, who is also the Treasurer. These gentlemen have all consented to act on this board. The design was to provide some fitting memorial of one of the heroic sacrifices of the great war for freedom, and although the amount contributed is small, probably no equal sum was ever raised involving greater personal sacrifices. Given by those who had but little, it is a precious tribute of gratitude from a people seeking to do honor to the memory of brave men who died to deliver them from bondage, and who had vindicated the claims of their race to manhood.

R. Saxton.

Buffalo, N. Y., Feb. 6, 1867.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, February 11th, 1867.

After two nights of drenching rain, which has thoroughly washed our sidewalks and cleared our streets from the loose masses of snow that encumbered them, we have now clear and cold weather again. February, so far, has closely resembled the warmest part of April. Everybody will welcome the return of weather better suited to the season.

President Johnson has *revenged* himself upon the natural and actual candidates for the Collectorship of the port of Boston by nominating Mr. George Bancroft for that post. Our men of business and of the press are inquiring—Could he not find a suitable person in Boston or Massachusetts for such an office?—as if it were necessary to look in that direction for the reason! Mr. Bancroft has already held the post of Collector here, having been appointed to it by President Van Buren in 1838. This office is the most lucrative in the gift of the government in Boston. It remains to be seen whether it will attract Mr. Bancroft to the extent of reconciling him to pay the understood price of it, subserviency.

The last word reminds me, by contrast, of Mr. Motley, at Vienna. It seems to me a great pity that he did not defeat the mischievous purpose of Secretary Seward at the same time that he wrote a proper rebuke to his impertinent and unjustifiable letter, by *not* proffering that resignation which it was the purpose of the letter to provoke. Why should he not have quietly held his position, and let the disgraceful attack of Mr. Seward recoil upon his own head, as it did, necessarily, as soon as the (next to anonymous) pretence of authority for it was published. No wonder—considering the many disgraceful acts to which the President and Secretary have resorted to bolster up their "policy"—that it should be seriously doubted whether there is any such person as he whose name is signed to the vulgar and shabby letter now produced as the justification of Mr. Seward's! No wonder that protests have been received from several owners of the name thus disgraced, various McCrackens desiring it to be distinctly understood that they are not *that* McCracken! It seems to me that Mr. Motley's position at the head of an important post was so like Gen. Grant's before Richmond that he should have chosen rather to "fight it out on that line" than to fulfil the enemy's wish by withdrawing. The language of his reply was excellent; but its substance should have been more like the answer of a famous Irishman to an unreasonable request—"The more you bid me to let go the more I won't, so I will."

"Count Fosco" laid it down as one important means of holding your ground against an opponent—"not to accept a provocation from him." The Count's view of this rule was that it was applicable only against women and children, horses and dogs, because these, as he assumed, were inferior to men. But the method is just as good in controversy with men, since it means simply—Keep your temper. The angry man is likely to be a hasty man. Refuse to become angry, and keep your sense and wit undisturbed by passion, and ready to maintain the right *effectively*. Very likely such a letter as Mr. Seward's excited only contempt, and not anger, in Mr. Motley. But he acted as if he were angry. He "accepted the provocation," and made, for his opposing move, just what his crafty antagonist wished, instead of what the necessities of the political situation and the interests of the country demanded. It was an opportunity lost, except in so far as it brought out one more good verbal testimony on the right side.

Have I seen it somewhere else, or was it a Southern correspondent of The Standard who mentioned, some weeks ago, the protest of negro women against being married in a church, or by a clergyman, because then their husbands would take advantage of the indissoluble character of the connection to tyrannize over them? Singularly enough, the men were specially desirous of this particular form and manner of marriage, for the very reason that turned the women against it. The men had the idea that marriage regularly performed, gave the husband supreme and exclusive authority over the wife, substantially such as the master used to claim over the slave; so that, after this ceremony had passed, the wife could neither refuse implicit obedience, nor resist ill treatment, nor run away from it.

The statement is an inherently probable one. Slavery is a very bad educator. As it corrupted the masters, so it corrupted the slaves. The severity of a negro overseer is proverbial. Power irresponsible depraves the black not less than the white. And one of the lessons that many of the freedmen have yet to learn is, that marriage is a *partnership* of husband with wife, not an unlimited subordination of the latter to the former. Unfortunately, many white people have still to learn this same lesson.

I have mentioned this matter because 'the *Christian Register* of this city has flared up savagely at the mention of this piece of Southern history in *The Radical* denouncing it as a gross slander of the colored women, on the (unjustly assumed) ground that it represents them as preferring the concubinage of slavery to the lawful marriage of freedom. This is an utterly unfair representation. The protest of the colored women has no such scope or bearing. Their remonstrance is in fact against tyranny—not against purity. Custom has so arranged matters there that the wedded bride gives herself up not to a husband only, but to a *master* in the same person. It is true that plenty of white women, Irish and Americans, do the same thing. But the black women are now in a transition state; they see the prospect of getting rid of some of their evils, and they are groping blindly towards a remedy for this one also. Having been beaten and bruised by overseers and drivers, they have taken a prejudice against that mode of discipline, and are unwilling to receive it even from a husband! Having been regularly plundered of the earnings of their hard labor by a master, they object to that sort of treatment even when a husband offers it! They want, as the rest of us do, fair play and equal rights; and, the marriage tie having proved, to many of them, not very unlike the slaveholder's bill of sale in its practical results, this is the first method of protest that has occurred to them. It is a blind groping after right and justice. It is not that they love purity less, but the recognition of their rights as human beings more. It is the *Register*—not *The Radical* that has uttered a slander; and it is our part to see (as far as interposition can accomplish so difficult a thing) that the freedwomen in gaining so much safeguard to purity as marriage provides, do not lose all power of self-protection, and all chance of appeal against domestic injustice.

North.

NOTES FROM ABROAD.

No. VII.

Paris, January 18, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

As I mentioned in my last, I will in this letter endeavor to give you some particulars of the great Exhibition of 1867, which, if all the arrangements are faithfully carried out, will be the most perfect thing of the kind that the world has ever seen.

The building was commenced in April, 1866, and since that time more than twenty-two thousand workmen have been constantly engaged upon it and the grounds attached. Of these, fifteen thousand have been employed in laying out the grounds, and the remainder on the palace itself. An immense garden, containing upwards of a million square feet, will encircle the building, and it is being laid out in every conceivable form conducive to beauty and regularity. To adorn this garden, eight thousand trees of all kinds have been transplanted to it, while magnificent flowerbeds and miniature lakes and rivulets will divide it in every direction. Besides this outside garden, there is to be another in the very centre of the palace, six hundred feet long by three hundred wide. It will be even more tastefully laid out than the other, and will be farther ornamented by a huge aquarium, in which will sport the fish of all nations. Through this garden will flow a little river, adding to its beauty. The building itself, which is composed solely of iron, stone and glass, consists of concentric circles—eight in all—and within the eighth will lie the middle garden, already mentioned.

All the cafés in the Exhibition will open into the garden. The principal entrance is being splendidly ornamented. It is built of Paris limestone (the favorite color for stone in France), and the portal is carved with the arms of the Empire, and the motto of welcome, made of colossal arches, the middle one lighted by a rose window. The whole is lighted by crystal chandeliers of magnificent workmanship. The products of the different countries will be so arranged within the palace that they may be viewed side by side. The cost of the "Exposition" building has been about eighty millions of francs, and the expenditure on the grounds, etc., thirty-three millions. Great excitement prevails among different classes of speculators, who wish to have the control of different departments attendant on the "Exposition." Nearly two thousand applications have been made by pastry-cooks, to have control of the principal *buffet*. An enterprising Englishman has secured the sole privilege of advertising in the building, and through the papers informs tradesmen that he is ready to give their notices prominent places at fair prices. It is said that Denta, the Parisian bookseller, has paid five hundred thousand francs for the privilege of printing the catalogues. Great inquiry having arisen as to the price of entrance to the Exhibition, and many persons having given their opinions upon it through the papers, the "Imperial Commission" have put an end to all such discussion, by formally announcing that the entrance fee will be one franc, without exception. This is equivalent to nineteen cents American coin, and its marvellous cheapness will enable everybody, no matter how poor, to go. Great doubt exists as to whether the "Exposition" will open on the 1st of April, and, indeed, I have it from very good authority that the time has been changed to the 1st of May. Things are as yet in a very unfinished state, and although the authorities are straining every nerve, it will be some time before order is evoked from chaos. It is reported that Gen Mellinet, the commander of the National Guard, has issued a general order, informing the Guard that two thousand men of the New York State Guard intend coming to Paris in the Spring. It is said that Gen. Dix, the present Minister to France, takes the initiative in this matter; also that the Emperor has alotted a part of the Hotel des Invalides for their reception. I cannot vouch for the truth of the above, but give it for what it is worth.

There are many most interesting facts connected with the Universal Exposition, but it would take up too much of your space to dwell any longer upon it now, and I will reserve them, together with what I may be able to learn in the interim, for another time.

Christmas day is passed over by the native Parisians with comparative indifference, since the New Year is their greatest time for festivity; but the throng of Americans who now constitute an essential part of the population, observed the day with the appropriate ceremonies. Some few of the French imitate the foreigners in having Christmas dinners; but their attempts at making plum-pudding are most painful. However, if they fail in keeping Christmas, they succeed most gloriously at New Years. It is then that the Parisian shopkeepers vie with each other in making their shop windows most attractive. Each displays his or her most tempting wares, and the Boulevards seem converted into immense bazaars. From Christmas and till some days after New Years, the authorities permit booths also to be erected on the most fashionable boulevards, in which all kinds of fancy articles and toys are sold. The history of these booths is rather curious. They were first erected on the Boulevards in 1789. They disappeared for a time in 1793, when New Years gifts were abolished as useless. In 1797 they again appeared, but were a second time suppressed under the first Empire. Under the Restoration, in 1815, they were again authorized, and lasted until 1829. From 1836 to 1852 they were laid aside, but since the last-named year they were again revived, and seem to increase in numbers each season. These booths, with the cries of their owners, the magnificent shops, and the throngs of gaily-dressed promenaders, make up a scene which only Paris can produce.

On New Years day the Emperor, who has been in town since the 1st of December, held his annual grand reception at the Tuileries, and his address to the Diplomatic Corps was very gratifying to all. As it is so short, I will give it entire, as all may not have seen it:

"The renewal of the year furnishes me with an opportunity of expressing my sincere wishes for the stability of thrones and prosperity of nations. I hope we are entering on a new era of peace and conciliation, and that the Universal Exhibition will contribute to calm down men's passions and draw closer together the various interests. I thank the Diplomatic Body for its congratulations, and I pray the members composing it to assure the various governments which they represent of my friendly sentiments."

There are three questions which are now occupying the attention of Europe, and particularly of France. The first is the re-organization of the French army.

This measure, which has occupied the attention of the Emperor for many months, if effectually carried out, would increase the standing army of the nation to 1,800,000 men. Under the existing system, only a certain number of the able-bodied young men of France have been obliged to serve in the army; but, under the one contemplated, every capable man will have to serve for a certain length of time. It will be, in short, what the present system of Prussia is, and which proved so effective in the late war. The supporters of this measure protest that its object is to place France on an equal footing with her neighbors. Of course it is obvious that, by "*her neighbors*," is meant only Prussia. The opposition, represented by such papers as *La Liberte*, edited by Emile Girardeu, oppose the scheme as much as they dare to, urging that if France wants peace, she should reduce

has rapidly extended, until, it is reported, *all* the Turkish possessions in the East are disaffected. Russia, ever ready to take advantage of anything which will increase her territory, is prepared for war if it should come again. England's sympathies seem to be with the struggling Christians, and the Court of the Tuileries, which for some months inclined to the side of the "Porte," has, it is said, on learning the real state of affairs in the East, entirely changed its policy. The Ottoman government, always tyrannical and oppressive, is certainly in great danger of meeting its just fate. Garibaldi has written an eloquent letter, in which he appeals to the Great Powers to support the insurgents. In conclusion he says:

"In 1827, England, France and Russia, in one of those outbursts of generasity which God sometimes excites in great minds, accomplished one of those facts which, in the history of nations, are followed by universal gratitude. Let them complete the sublime task; let them spare to humanity a fresh torrent of blood, and they will receive from her a thousand benedictions."

An event has occurred on the Isle of Levant, off Hyeres, which serves to illustrate the depth of depravity to which some natures can arrive. On the above-named island is a penitentiary for boys ranging from thirteen to twenty years of age. It was founded in 1860, by Count Poustales, and already in 1862 was the scene of some rather serious disturbances. On this occasion some of the youth had excited the animosity of their comrades by revealing to the director certain acts of immorality among their fellows, and for some time they have been the object of menaces from some of the more perverse, and looked upon as spies. On the 20th of September last, the number of the lads was increased to three hundred, by the arrival of sixty-five from a similar establishment in Corsica. The new comers had, in their previous quarters, manifested a riotous disposition, and the leaders of the present malcontents appear to have counted on their co-operation in an outbreak, in which the lives of the spies, the keepers and the chaplain were to be taken. The Corsicans had no sooner landed than they became insubordinate. They refused to work, and put forward many absurd demands, in which they were joined by the previous inmates. Conspicuous among the latter were three boys named Condurier, Ferrandon and Allard, aged respectively sixteen, fourteen and thirteen. Condurier, who was cook in the establishment, was the leader, and, in order to excite the discontent of the Corsicans, made the food uneatable by preparing it with salt water.

The revolt broke out on the night of the 2d of October. The lights were put out, the windows and furniture smashed, and the keepers, eight in number, driven from the building. The rioters were then going to attack the residence of the director, M. Fauvean; but Condurier proposed to first liberate the youths in confinement for misdemeanors. Nine cells were accordingly broken open, and their occupants swelled the number of the young rebels. The store-room was next attacked, but the door being stouter than the others, resisted, and an entry was made by bursting a panel. The contents of the room, consisting of wine, brandy and provisions, were passed out, and a complete revel ensued. The leaders, however, had not forgotten their plans of vengeance. Condurier whispered to Ferrandon and Allard, and gave them instructions. "I will send the spies into the store-room, after which Ferrandon shall set it on fire, and Allard prevent them from escaping with his knife." These terrible orders were only too faithfully carried out. Condurier placed himself at the door, and then called the rest of the boys to come and take their share of the plunder. The invitation was instantly accepted; but care was taken to *first* admit fourteen of those whom the leaders had singled out as victims. They entered by the broken panel, and then Condurier, while preventing any more boys from entering, gave the signal to Ferrandon, who set fire to a heap of paper prepared beforehand, and a can of oil having been broken open, the flames spread with fearful rapidity; while Ferrandon, proud of his work, stood by exclaiming, "See how well my fire burns!" A boy named Garibaldi made a desperate effort to escape by climbing through the panel; but Allard, according to instructions, rushed at him with his knife, stabbed him in the breast and thigh, and threw him back into the flames. The windows of the store-house were secured with iron bars, to which the unfortunate youths clung in despair; but the leaders were implacable, and menaced any who were disposed to render assistance. A man named Ducondray, employed on the island as signal-man, hastened to the spot and endeavored to quench the flames, but the young fiends caught him in their arms and threw him down a deep well on the premises. A boy who attempted the same thing, shared a similar fate. The fourteen alleged spies, left to their fate, soon expired in horrible sufferings. The orgie continued throughout the night, until sleep calmed the fury of these savages. The other people on the island had in the meantime left it, and the next day assistance arriving from the main land, the revolt was quelled and sixteen of the ringleaders arrested. Their trial has just taken place, at which the above facts were made public. The three leaders have been disposed of as follows: Condurier to hard labor for life, Allard to ten years in a house of correction, and (strange to say) Ferrandon, the one who set the fire, acquitted.

As many have remarked, the "Code Napoleon" had better be revised, if no severer sentences than these can be imposed for such awful crimes.

The saddest and most remarkable fact is, that the three leaders should be the three youngest of the accused, the eldest only sixteen.

Two historic buildings have just been pulled down in Paris, or, more properly speaking, they have been brought to light by the pulling down of other houses about them. One is the Hotel de Bourgoyne, where Racine and Corneille had their pieces performed. The other is the tower of Jean sans Peui.

The season has now fairly commenced. The renowned masked balls at the Grand Opera take place every Saturday night, commencing at 12, midnight, and attract a large crowd of foreigners, who are greatly amused at the novel scene. All the theatres are nightly crowded, and, in short, the managers of all kinds of amusements can find no cause of complaint. Patti, at the "Italian," is singing sweeter than ever, and Miss Adah Isaacs Menken, an American actress, is attracting crowds at one of the theatres, in the character of Mazeppa. The Emperor attended her performance one evening last week.

Meanwhile, the Winter is passing away, and when lovely Spring comes with her sunny brow and lap of flowers, then France, in the words of her illustrious chief, hopes that the "Universal Exhibition will contribute to calm down men's passions, and draw closer together the various interests."

Very truly yours, E. Q. P.

Our correspondent adds, in a postscript of later date, that "another order has been issued by the Imperial Committee of the Exhibition, in which the prices of admission are altered. The opening day is to be twenty francs ($3.80), and the first week after five francs (ninety-three cents), and then, for the remainder of the time, one franc, as I have written."

RADICALISM.

To the Editor of the Standard:

In that part of social morals called politics, the method which appeals from outer forms to inner facts, from men to man; which votes for essential ideas and common interests, rather than their imperfect and transient manifestations, may be termed radical. Its chief title to respect is that, standing for abstract right and impartial freedom, which were before governments and will survive them, it is the only real conservatism. But so fashionable is now the once hated word that, "By this sign we shall conquer," has become the motto of a policy whose chief characteristic is distrust of liberty and the people.

Restoring suffrage to blacks in the District and the prohibition of caste laws in the Territories are acts of justice for which the present government should have due credit. But the proposal of the Constitutional Amendment, which betrays at once the men of a weaker race and the women of all races, the most cruel and unnecessary denial of human rights in our politics since '89—a proposition endorsed at first by Stevens, Sumner, Boutwell, and others, who, like most men, at heart prefer right to political success, is sufficient proof that, in a close issue, the dominant party will continue to barter truth for power. But, since the principle of politics is to be unprincipled, this sin of omission would not wear so grave an aspect were there not also sins of commission. In arrogantly denying freedom of discussion to the minority when most important measures are crowded through the House, in denouncing judicial decisions which, impartial observers will admit, assert principles which have been the bulwark of reform in all ages, thereby raising the inquiry whether it is the Supreme Court or Liberty that is in their way; and by assuming to rule vast communities by armed violence against their consent, the so-called radical party constantly act on a theory subversive of both democracy and Christianity.

Thaddeus Stevens's notion that the heaviest fist may legitimately rule, that an insurgent people are bound to obey measures, and observe oaths forced upon them under military duress—a doctrine which Mr. Beecher righteously denounced as "the doctrine of devils"—is a gun which kills at the wrong end. Applied to a Yankee under the same circumstances, he would take as many oaths as there are texts in the Bible, and find a religious reason for breaking every one of them. When the Federal Executive turns the guns of Fort Warren on Boston, Massachusetts, if true to the ideas which have given her a name in history, will rise to defend the same doctrine we have drenched a dozen States in blood to deny. Of the two parties struggling for mastery at Washington, one would disfranchise the blacks in the interests of the whites, while the other would disfranchise the whites to protect the blacks. But neither have a moral or political right to rule disloyal communities without the consent of a majority of the whole people thereof.

Congress having for two years labored earnestly to accomplish reconstruction without success, are about to be cast aside as, in Mr. Lincoln's pithy phrase, "augurs which won't bore." Both parties have deservedly failed because they aimed to save the Union at the expense of liberty. What next? Surely the policy which denies, with aggressive violence, self-government to a whole people, in order to enfranchise a class, is not likely to solve this grave problem of unity and progress. The central beat of things does not respond to that way of governing these States. The Anti-Slavery Society, which of old held, that what is morally wrong can never be politically right, or innocently encouraged; which taught the reverend triflers of the Tract Society religion and gave law to statesmen—having somewhat recovered from its eclipse of faith, its "seventh of March speech" in 1861, should now again be master of the situation, and give the people a clean issue. It is high time Americans understood that there is something better than compulsory Union and bullying nationalities, viz: the justice, harmony, governments are formed to promote. Of the radicalism which goes back to barbarous despotism for its methods we have had quite enough. But of that radicalism which, believing in God believes also in man, and refuses to sanction available evils to secure a desired end, there is plentiful lack. Still, the right way is the safe way. Outward forms disappear—essential law holds on; through it crude "isms" and airy "abstractions" give to men and nations a habitation and a name. E. H. H.

LETTER FROM SALLIE HOLLEY TO A FRIEND.

Providence, R. I., February 6, 1867.

My Dear ———: You know how I looked forward to the Anti-Slavery Festival and meeting in Boston in January. All my hope was fulfilled. I go to other meetings, religious, political and philanthropic, and rejoice in the truth of all everywhere; but nowhere else do I see such a nobly free platform, such unalloyed patriotism, such pure devotion to the principles of justice and honor, which must be the basis of all enduring governments, as of individual character. Such tried personal magnanimity, such dignity of purpose, such hope for mankind, such vital faith in God, as at these meetings.

At the Athæneum we saw Miss Hosmer's model of the Freedmen's Memorial Monument to Abraham Lincoln. It is full of figures, illustrating the story of Abraham Lincoln's life, from the cradle side, where his mother sits spinning, to the tomb at Springfield. The progressive steps toward Emancipation are symbolized in four figures on the corners of the monument. First, a slave in chains on the auction-block, abject and crushed in spirit, next as a field-hand with a hoe, a little freer and dawning into manhood. The third is all alert, every muscle and feature instinct with intelligent devotion to the Union and Liberty cause, with paddle in hand and basket of provisions on his arm, a guide to our armies, and the faithful friend and succorer of escaping prisoners. The fourth, as Mr. Lincoln left him—a manly soldier in the United States uniform.

You, who gave me, at Elmira, after my little speech in the parlor, as the crowning wish of your "Good bye", "I hope you will get the franchise for the black man!" will understand that I felt afresh the incompleteness of Mr. Lincoln's work, and said to Miss P., "I want to see him as a *voter!*" As I stood, and thought over the story told there, and read the inscription from the decree of Emancipation, I was profoundly grateful that Mr. Lincoln lent himself to serve, as far as he did, the mighty behests of Justice to this nation. I admire the genius that can conceive this eloquent monument—but my highest enthusiasm kindled, and I thank God for the grander inspiration and heroism that refuses all parley with injustice—any compromise with rebel States, or concession of the least right of the victim race—and urges, with heavenly patience and persistence, the nation to demand the full fruits of its bloody agony, and clothe every loyal black man with the only effectual protection—the ballot. I see how, without the melting of bronze, or the hammering of granite, this glorious temple of Liberty is already fashioning in the hearts of the people; and I pray that it may come without another scourge of war and a martyred President. We made a delightful call on Mrs. Theodore Parker. How you would have enjoyed with us the visit to the Library in the attic, where Mr. Parker wrote and studied, and where angels must often have ministered unto him strength and consolation. There are rare and beautiful books still on the shelves, some his last purchases in Rome—engravings of Rouge—and his Swiss friend Desor, in whose memory, he writes him, they used to have the *sap-sage* cheese on their table. There are pictures and images of bears on the mantel—gifts of his friends in Europe and America—because he delighted in their grotesque figures and ways. A china cup he had painted for Mrs. Parker with his own designs of bears, one a group of the famous "Three Bears" standing by the couch of the "little wee bear" where "little Silver Hair" is lying "fast asleep." On the under side of the saucer were two bears in a quarrel. "This is the way they look when they are cross, Bearsie" (his pet name for Mrs. P.), he said, as he turned it up for her to see. There was a lovely painting of the fringed gentian—a flower especially admired by Mr. Parker. And when I remarked his great love for apple blossoms, "Yes, he did love them," said Mrs. P., "and I had this wall paper of apple blossoms put on after the books were taken away." Among the tenderly pleasing relics was the drawer of playthings with which this great and good and learned man used to amuse the little Russel's (cousins of Col. Robert G. Shaw), when they would visit him and call him fondly "Parkie." There were the very pipes with which they all blowed soap bubbles together. They are kept in the same little old fashioned chest of drawers, where the Latin Dictionary is. "Theodore's first book, he earned it picking blue berries," said Mrs. P.

Candlemas Day was cloudy and gray, and we had left Boston to come to this attractive home. The graceful, light, airy little Maybell met us, with all the irrepressible joy of her nature. She is as enlivening as a sunbeam. Ten years ago, my friend here, who has the honor to rank as an early Abolitionist, went to Boston to see that angelic-hearted woman, Theodore Parker used to reverently name "Saint Matilda," to seek among her orphan babies one to adopt. She looked among them all—not finding one she wanted. It was Thursday, and Saturday she must return home. "Saint Matilda" said, "I am expecting another soon, but don't know when it will come, perhaps to-morrow, possibly not until next week, I can't tell. Saturday, as my friend was all ready to leave Boston, suddenly word came the new baby had arrived. So to Florence street she went. Saint Matilda was walking her parlor with the baby in arms. As soon as little blue eyes opened and little fair arms put out, my friend felt *that* was the child for her, and took it to her large warm heart and pleasant hearth, where that bud is now blossoming into beauty and delicious perfume, making glad all who come. I have been told this was "a cold, uncharitable world." It seems to me all glowing with kindness and love. Lately another touching and romantic advent baptized this dwelling with a flood of tender light and joy. You could not be a visitor here one single day, without sharing in its blessedness. Two months ago, under cover of a Winter's night, a violent ring at the door bell was heard, and on opening the door, no one was seen—only a small shawl-wrapped bundle lay there. Very soon a pair of thin, wasted, tiny arms stretched up as if imploring shelter, love and care. The little stranger was taken in and how benignly is its mute prayer answered! O, if the spirits of the father and mother are permitted to know, how they must rejoice to see her so safely wafted on the wings of heavenly providence, a nestling in this beautiful mansion, welcomed by rare sympathy, warm, glowing heart, as to a rightful home. The royal name of Bertha is given her—after the first Christian Queen of England—and here she lives, and is to live, Heaven willing, a little queen herself, ruling all hearts with her exquisite, infantile grace, beauty, and innocence. She is indeed now a beautiful child of seventeen months—like a little bird half running, half flying, fluttering her little hands and arms in freshest delight. We, having just come from seeing Story's bust of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, declare baby's head and mouth are like Mrs. Browning's. "Yes," responds the art-loving mamma who knew Mrs. B. abroad, "I thought so too, specially her eyes and forehead." Then we discovered a striking likeness to the child in the picture of the Holy Family. "Yes," that pure, sweet look has also been seen. Never did the lines in Watt's cradle hymn

"Heavenly blessings, without number,
Gently falling on thy head—"

sing so true. What a sweet Christian charity to take in this little stray waif of humanity. Though the benevolent mamma smiles and shakes her handsome head, and says in the dearest accents of her low musical voice, "She *gives* as much as she takes. If I had been seeking the wide world over, I could not have found a nicer child or better organization—now all rounded out with health and vigor." In the same spirit with which, twenty years ago, in Utica, she sheltered and concealed, all Winter, a fugitive slave mother and her three little children from the slave-hunters, my friend took in this little white baby.

What a vast difference it will make in the unfolding of this young life, expanding and enriching amid all this elegance and refinement—this glad warmth and tender watchings instead of the Alms-house. God forever bless the timely rescue! Why should any child have that hard lot? Are there not thousands of homes that can make room for all the little orphans and deserted children? Remember who said, "Their angels do always behold the face of my Father in heaven."

Sallie Holley.

RECONSTRUCTION AND FINANCE.

Philadelphia, February 11, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

In my article on Financial Reconstruction, in your last issue, there are two errors. The careful reader will note them. They are near the end of the second column, which should read $6,000,000 and not $60,000,000. I said, we pay the National Banks $18,000,000 a year. We do this, and get for it the use of $292,000,000 of currency!—$18,000,000 is not the correct figure. At the price of gold to-day—which is $1.38—we pay over $29,000,000! A law of Congress could substitute $292,000,000 of greenbacks for the $292,000,000 of bank-note paper and the nation would have no less currency; but a better one and save $29,000,000.

E. M. D.

REIGN OF TERROR IN TENNESSEE.

The Nashville correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* represents the predominant public sentiment of Tennessee as still exceedingly bitter in its hatred of the Union, and proscriptive of Union men. The freedmen are oppressed, wronged and outraged to a degree that almost exceeds belief. The officers of the Bureau have details of hundreds of cases, showing that from rebel courts and rebel juries these poor people, except in rare cases, find it absolutely impossible to obtain justice, and have ceased to appeal to them for protection. Everywhere the courts are burdened with criminal prosecutions against them; in the absence of actual offense, both the letter and spirit of the law are violated to find them guilty of constructive crimes, and in every case the fullest penalty of the law is visited upon them. In the city of Nashville freedmen, with families to care for, have been fined as high as *fifty-four dollars* each for no greater offense than drinking too much or making an improper noise upon the street; and, if the unfortunate wretches were unable to pay the unconscionable fine, they were sent to the workhouse for sixty or ninety days with their families in the meantime perishing from cold or famishing for bread. Among Union men there is a reign of terror. The writer says:

"Within the last day or two, I have read several scores of letters, written by Union men in different parts of the State, to loyal members of the Legislature, who sent to inquire the state of affairs. In all of these letters the writers pen their words as if in deadly fear, and in almost every line repeat the earnest entreaty not to let their names be known, for if it were ascertained by their rebel neighbors that they had communicated with a loyal member of the Legislature, their fate would inevitably be death.

"The guerilla Harper still roams at large, plundering, murdering and exiling Union men and freedmen.

"In Robinson county a gang of desperadoes, armed to the teeth, have overturned the civil law; established a code of their own, one article of which is that no white man in the county shall employ a colored laborer; are burning the houses of those who disobey their bloody mandates; are carrying things with such a high and terrible hand that even the *Union and Dispatch* of this city—a journal thoroughly committed to the reaction—either because it is really shocked at these monstrous deeds, or fears its friends are going too fast (we give it credit for the better motive), calls upon them, for God's sake, to desist, and invokes the assistance of all parties to put a stop to their career."

In Shelby county, Frank Erickson, coroner of the county, who was driven from his home during the war by the rebels for his Union principles, and who served two years in the Federal army, recently returned to his home in the town of Sommerville, when he was met, the first day of his return, by a notorious rebel guerilla and bandit, named Jim Burton, taken by the throat, a pistol placed to his head, and his brains blown out upon the street. Burton then planted his foot upon the breast of the prostrate and bleeding man, and fired a second ball into his heart. To-day the murderer walks the streets of the town with impunity, the magistrates of the place either afraid or unwilling to bring him to justice.

AFFAIRS IN LOUISIANA.

Washington, Feb. 8, 1867.

The Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana has addressed a letter under date of Jan. 8, 1867, to Hon. Thomas S. Eliot, relative to the condition of affairs in that State, the material portions of which are as follows:

"From conversations with secessionists, I know they hope that an issue will arise between the President and Congress, or between the United States and some foreign power, which will precipitate war, and through this hoped-for war they believe they will rid themselves of the people and the government which are odious to them. They would, to-day, join in any movement to rid themselves of the government of the United States, provided there was a fair prospect of success. Most of the people honestly believe that in the late struggle they were only contending for the right of self-government; that the war carried on against them was iniquitous, and was waged with inhumanity and brutality, and that they have been robbed and plundered of their rights and property. With such impressions on their minds they can entertain no loyalty to the government of the United States, nor friendly greetings for the people of the North. There is many an honest man who engaged in the late rebellion believing he was right, but, being now overpowered, would submit to the decision of the sword, were it not for the fact that most of their military leaders now have control and excite those well-meaning men. If the United States military forces were to-day removed from Louisiana, and if there was no fear of interference by the United States, these base men, their military leaders, among the most conspicuous of whom is Richard Taylor, who has murdered many citizens of this State, would arouse well-meaning citizens to violence and blood, and no Union man, whether white or black, would be safe in his person or his property. So complete are the influence and control of such men as Richard Taylor and Mayor Monroe, who also caused the assassination of so many citizens in New Orleans on the 30th July, 1866, that the assassin's dagger is restrained at the present time only by United States bayonets. The spirit of secession is as strong and defiant as it ever was, because the hope has been revived that it can succeed in maintaining its power, in each of the Southern States, and then, when a favorable occasion presents, it can disrupt the Federal government."

The New York *News* gives the following shameless and atrocious advice to the South:

"We say to the Southern people, submit awhile to extortion if by so doing you can regain your inheritance. Get power. Free yourselves from the clutches of the highwaymen, not by abject submission, but by *yielding all that you can regain.* Obtain a foothold in the National Legislature. Stoop a little to conquer, so you stoop not lower than manhood warrants. You are dealing with political robbers and assassins, and *need not burden your consciences about the means you use to obtain the vantage ground.*"

Church Reconstruction.—The Church of the Puritans, in Union Square, is to be reconstructed in its interior. The lower part, which is to be a source of revenue, amounting to some $27,000 per annum, for stores, is to be ceiled over, and the upper part (now the galleries) is to be made into an audience-room as commodious as the whole church is now, by means of an improved method of arranging the seats, and provided with much better means of ventination than at present. The organ will be carried back to the opposite end to that which it now occupies, and the pulpit slightly lowered, will stand out in front of the organ, gallery and choir. The plan, while it is somewhat of an improvement, is an economical step which Dr. Cheever's congregation, in resorting to, has done in a very discreet manner. They propose to arrange a church auditorium upon what is to be regarded as the social system of architectural design.—*N. Y. Times.*

JOHN BROWN.

John Brown's soul, indeed, seems to be marching on. It will be remembered how much of a sensation was caused by the well-known refrain coming from the thousand voices of Col. Webster's command, as it moved down Broadway. Since that day it has resounded in the streets of Charleston, up and down the valley of the Shenandoah, and all over the United States. It has now crossed the ocean, and has been heard in the commercial metropolis of Great Britain. Tom Hughes—as the author of "Tom Brown at Oxford" is familiarly called—in his last letter to the New York *Tribune*, refers to the fact that its date is that of the anniversary of the death of Palmerston, and contrasts the influence of that Minister with the influence of the sturdy old Abolitionist, and then gives this incident:

"On the evening of this anniversary, I was on one of our bridges, over which a volunteer regiment was marching back from drill—marching at ease, with rifles slung over their shoulders. They were singing, as is their wont—not altogether, but by snatches—first one company and then another catching up the refrain, which swelled up, every now and then, along the whole column. For a moment I did not recognize the chant, but as the head of the column came close, the "Glory, hallelujah" of your John Brown's March rung out, to my surprise and delight, and floated over the quiet waters of the Thames down below. As the last company filed away into dusk, I couldn't help speculating whether, in fifty years time, the old New England Puritan yeoman, the hard fighter in Kansas, who ended his days on the Virginia scaffold, would not count for more with our grandchildren than the successful Premier, the Cabinet Minister of more than half a century; who, during eleven eventful years, from the Crimean war to the time of his death, ruled England and her Empire pretty much as he pleased.

"I came to the conclusion, without the least disparagement to the gallant old gentleman who lived his own kind of life bravely and honestly enough, that for one English speaking man who will at that time of day hunt out affectionately Lord Palmerston's last home in Westminster Abbey, a hundred will be making pilgrimages to the wild little settlement in the Adirondacks, and drinking in strength of soul over the plain granite slab which covers all that could die of Capt. John Brown, the Abolitionist—which conclusion will, no doubt, be counted craziness by nine-tenths of my own countrymen, and even with you, who love the grand old martyr, I doubt whether I could reckon on a majority, for a verdict of perfect sanity."

We notice also that during John Bright's recent visit to Ireland, some of the enchanted Hibernians chanted the praises of the veteran "Ossawattomie." Whatever may be thought of the raid into Virginia, it would seem to be pretty certain that the principles represented, and the consistent pluck shown by John Brown, not only command respect, but are likely to do a good deal for the cause of liberty in the Old World as well as in the New.

Presidential Revelations.—The following statements are made by the Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, usually well informed and reliable, but whose correctness in this matter remains to be verified by the report of the Judiciary Committee:

"It is beginning to appear in a very clear light that Mr. Johnson's detection began far back of the public announcement of what is termed his policy, and that this was but the development of a plot which was conceived at a very early day. The arrangement of the evidence which is to be placed before the Judiciary Committee will establish this. Of course it is not claimed that it is a high crime or misdemeanor within the meaning of the Constitution, but it will prove a very interesting chapter in the political history of the country, quite as interesting as that concerning Aaron Burr or Jefferson Davis.

"There are many facts lately brought to light to show that the first definite idea which Mr. Johnson expressed after his election, was that of a reorganization of the Democratic party. As a single instance of these is the following:

"When he passed through Cincinnati on his way to Washington to be inaugurated Vice-President, in separate conversations with two gentlemen, universally known in that city, and men who stand as high as any in it, he said, first to one with marked emphasis: 'I am an old Democrat, and so are you, and if this country is ever saved, it has got to be saved through a reorganization of the Democratic party.' This, in substance and almost exact words, he repeated afterward to the other gentleman.

"Shortly after the assassination, as has been heretofore stated in this correspondence, he made direct proposals to certain Republicans to undertake the reorganization of the Democratic party, and in doing so, 'slough off' the anti-slavery element, as he expressed it. The spirit which animated him about this time is well set forth by the following, which may be relied upon:

"A few weeks before the assassination he said to a man who was then, his friend, 'If I am ever President of the United States this —— Yankee influence will be crushed.' A few weeks after the assassination the same man met him, and the first remark of Mr. Johnson was, 'Do you remember what I told you when I saw you last? Well, now I am President, and this —— Yankee influence shall be crushed out in this government.'

"Before Mr. Lincoln was hardly cold in his grave, Mr. Johnson had been a party to the publication of an editorial in a bitter Democratic journal here, taking the distinct ground that he had always acted with the Democratic party, and was now its 'champion' and 'triumphant standard-bearer.' Of course the parentage of that editorial has been denied, but the fact that Mr. Johnson is responsible for it, remains unchanged, unless the evidence of those who were parties to its preparation be considered worthless."

Southern Loyalty.—The Richmond *Times* is dissatisfied with New York charity, and abuses the people of that city for the manner in which they conducted the recent meeting at Cooper Institute:

"The cold charities of the opulent city of New York were as insolently thrown at the suffering people of the South, at the late meeting at the Cooper Institute, as a footman, gorgeous in yellow plush and tinsel, would empty a plate of broken victuals into the basket of a ragged and importunate beggar. Bread given with such a display of gratuitous malignancy as that of Beecher, would choke the poorest Southern widow or ragged orphan for which it was intended."

According to the Memphis *Post*, outrages on Union men in Tennessee are still frequent:

"The reports in yesterday's issue of another murder in Obion county, Tenn., and the attempted murder of the Postmaster at Panola, Miss., are fitted to stir the blood of loyal men with a deeper indignation than ever. Taken in connection with the recent murders of Frank Erickson, Dr. Case, Captain King, and others, we are forced to the conclusion that the long and oft-repeated threats of rebels, that they would clean out the loyal men of the South, seem about to be put into execution."

The Richmond *Examiner* exults over the election of Gov. Swann to the Senate as follows:

"The Maryland House has passed the Convention bill. Gov. Swann has been elected Senator, and the disfranchisement law repealed.

'She is not dead, nor deaf, nor dumb—
She lives! she breathes! she'll come! she'll come!
Maryland, my Maryland!'"

The Pine Bluff, Arkansas *Vindicator* is not an admirer of Congress as at present constituted, as will be seen:

"Congress! Congress!! Congress!!! What a supreme absurdity to call a set of degraded, polluted, niggerized, cesspool dregs, liberty-despising miscreants, such as howl and rage for blood and spoons at Washington, a Congress! Why, it is perfectly outrageous, an insult sufficient to call the spirits of our forefathers from their celestial abode to rebuke the perpetrators."

A Gloomy Account of the South.—A "Conservative" correspondent of the New York *Times*, writing from New Orleans, says:

"It is safe to predict that two-thirds of the Northern planters will return to their homes as soon as they can after the crops of this season are gathered. They are led to this resolution not only by bad success in their enterprises and lack of remunerative prospects, but by actual threats of assassination if they remain. Dozens of Northerners, now planting in the interior parishes of this State, have received 'notices to quit,' enforced by the presentation of revolvers and unpleasant displays of rope. One gentleman, formerly a Federal Colonel, and now representing Northern moneyed interest to the amount of half a million dollars in Rapides Parish, although surrounded by over a thousand discharged colored soldiers of his own and other regiments, all of whom are in his employ, and have their arms with them, says that he will most assuredly abandon his business next year, as he has already been fired at several times, and has been served with verbal notification that he must leave or pay the penalty with his life. The chief judicial officer of the same parish will soon make affidavit that on the docket of the term of court now in session there are nineteen cases of murder of freedmen, and that it is useless to try to attempt to punish the criminals. Bienville Parish is in equally bad condition, and the post commandant at Shreveport has been authorized to use military force in protecting the Unionists and freedmen. The parish will probably soon be garrisoned by regular troops. In the vicinity of Lake Providence outrages occurred so frequently without being followed by the punishment of the perpetrators, that a squad of soldiers were sent there, and now persons who are suspected of having given the information regarding the outrages to the military authorities are obliged to fly from their homes to save their lives from midnight assassination. This plain statement is but a moiety of the entire record of disgraceful occurrences during the past few months. Were I to give your readers the particulars of the individual cases, regarding which reliable affidavits have been received by Gen. Sheridan, I could fill their hearts with horror at the atrocity and relentless cruelty of men who are encouraged, by escaping from punishment, to continue the committal of their crimes."

LITERARY.

Gustav Freytag, the German novelist, has lately published a collection of historical sketches, under the title "Aus dem Mittelalter." They are said to present a general though cursory view of the condition of the German people through the most picturesque periods of their history, and to be written with great judgment and intelligence.

Horace B. Fuller (Walker, Wise & Co.) has published a pocket volume of "Thoughts, selected from the writings of Horace Mann." They are edited by his wife, who is also issuing, by subscription, the complete works of her husband. The "Thoughts" are uniform with the "Thoughts of Lincoln," issued by the same house.

England is puzzled with this enigma, left by good old Dr. Whewell:

"A headless man had a letter to write,
He who read it had lost his sight;
The dumb repeated it word for word,
And deaf was the man who listened and heard!"

Punch has a picture representing a fashionable young couple, the husband searching vigorously in his waistcoat pockets. The wife inquires, "Have you lost your watch, love?" and he replies: "No, dear, 'twas a new bonnet I had for you somewhere."

Mr. John A. Dorgan, the promising poet of Philadelphia, who is just dead, much regretted, is understood to have left behind him manuscript poems sufficient to form another volume, which may very likely soon be printed. They are in the hands of the poet's sister.

The diamond Dickens has made a "hit." The first edition of five thousand was sold within a few days, and the supply is not equal to the demand.

Grace Greenwood's "Records of Five Years"—a volume of pleasant sketches and essays—is announced by Ticknor and Fields.

The next *Atlantic* will contain a political article by Carl Schurz, and an account of Chicago by James Parton.

The last person to whom the authorship of "Ecce Homo" has been attributed is M. D. Conway.

RECEIVED.

Thoughts, selected from the writings of Horace Mann, edited by Mrs. Mary Mann, two hundred and forty pages, neatly bound. Boston: H. B. Fuller & Co. For sale in this city by O. S. Felt, 455 Broome street.

Nature's Theology, pamphlet, ten pages, by Gerrit Smith.

Littell's Living Age, Fourth Series, No. 46, edited by E. Littell. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

The Advocate of Peace, for January and February. Boston: American Peace Society.

Every Saturday, for February 16. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

ART ITEMS.

Hicks has nearly finished a portrait of W. M. Evarts. Another picture by Mr. Hicks, is one of Edwin Booth, in the character of *Shylock* in the scene where, having crossed the Rialto, he turns and looks at *Antonio*, to whom he has just promised to lend three thousand ducats.

Bellows has several new works on his easel. One is entitled "A Day in the Woods," and represents a party of young people enjoying themselves in the country. Several are just crossing a stream, stepping carefully from rock to rock, and others are grouped in the shade of neighboring trees. "Fording the Stream" is another pleasant work, representing a loaded wagon crossing a shallow brook. A scene in the White Mountains, with a picturesque old mill and bridge, is also on his easel. Mr. Bellows's large picture of "The Echo" is now in his rooms. It will shortly be chromo-lithographed.

Rosa Bonheur has nearly completed a large picture of cattle and drovers in the Highlands. The men are vigorously belaboring some of the animals in order to make them move on a rough road.

MUSICAL.

The twenty-fourth of Mr. Harrison's delightful Sunday evening concerts was given on the 10th inst, in Steinway Hall. The attendance was, as usual, very large. The selections were from Weber, "Euryanthe;" Liszt, "Raphsodi Hongrois;" Haydn's "Creation;" Bach's "Chacoune;" Lindpainter's "Standard Bearer;" Wallace's "Lurline;" Mills's piano solo, "Caprice;" Bach's sacred German song, "Mein Jusus ist da," sung by Madame Parepa, with violoncello obligato by Mr. Bergner; Gounod's "Ava Maria," sung by Madame Parepa, with Carl Rosa upon the violin, Mr. Mills at the piano, and Mr. Colby upon the organ; concluding with Lumbye's "Visions in a Dream," by the orchestra, with zither solo, exquisitely rendered by Mr. Heindl. Madame Parepa sang also, as an *encore*, the beautiful ballad by Claribel, "I cannot sing the old songs." Her singing merited and received tokens of warmest appreciation. Rosa, Mills, Colby, and the orchestra were never better. Wednesday evening last was an opera night, with selections from the favorite operas. To-morrow evening, the 17th inst., the twenty-fifth Sunday evening concert will be given. At the Brooklyn Academy, as in this city, these distinguished artists are received with great cordiality. We advise all lovers of good music, who can do so, to improve the opportunity to hear them.

The Richings English opera troupe are winning golden honors in Philadelphia. They will return to New York at the close of their Philadelphia engagement.

The Boston Handel and Haydn Society will give Jephtha and the Creation this month. One of the best oratorio singers in America has been engaged for both works.

Mr. Julius Eichberg has opened the Boston Conservatory of Music under favorable circumstances.

M. Maretzek will commence a season of Italian Opera in the New Academy of Music the first week of March.

Radical Peace.—The members of the Rhode Island Radical Peace Society and other friends of reform, believing that war and man-killing, in all their various forms, are barbarous, inhuman, inexpedient, unchristian, and unworthy the practice of a humane, enlightened and free people, do invite such friends of Liberty, Justice and Mercy in this and other States as believe that Man possesses the "Unalienable Right to Life," also those who hold other views upon the question, to assemble in Convention, in the Friends' Meeting House, North Main st., in the city of Providence, on Tuesday and Wednesday, February 19th and 20th, 1867, at 2 and 7 o'clock p. m., of each day, for a full and free discussion of the whole question; and all persons, irrespective of sex, nationality, creed or condition, are earnestly invited to attend and participate in the proceedings. Able speakers from abroad are expected to be present and address the meeting.

To Lyceum Managers.—Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper, formerly of Boston, has prepared two lectures, "The Nation's Great Opportunity," and "The Colored Man as a Social and Political Force," which she will deliver to Lyceums, etc. Application may be made direct to Mrs. Harper, No. 107 North-Fifth street, Philadelphia. She has permission to refer to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Revs. R. C. Waterson, John T. Sargent and Leonard A. Grimes, Charles W. Slack, Esq., and Mrs. J. C. Johnson, 78 Temple street.

American Anti-Slavery Society.

Contributions at Boston Festival, held January 24th.

Mrs. George R. Russell,	$200 00
Mr. and Mrs. D. L. Child	50 00
Mrs. Anna Shaw Greene	200 00
Wm. I. Bowditch	50 00
Mr. and Mrs. Bourne Spooner	100 00
James N. Buffum	20 00
Mrs. Lydia D. Parker	20 00
Mrs. G. L. Stearns	100 00
Sallie Holley	25 00
Mrs. Lydia Emerson	10 00
Gerrit Smith	65 00
J. M. Forbes	50 00
Rev. Samuel Johnson	10 00
The Misses Ireson	10 00
C. M. Severance	5 00
T. C. Severance	5 00
Stephen S. Foster	5 00
R. A. & M. Goddard	5 00
Miss Mehitable Haskell	2 00
Ann Greene Phillips	100 00
Rev. Samuel J. May	10 00
C. K. & E. C. Whipple	10 00
Rev. Photius Fiske	50 00
R. F. Hallowell	25 00
Mrs. S. J. Nowell	10 00
Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel White	50 00
Mr. and Mrs. George Greene	10 00
Mr. and Mrs. John Sawyer	10 00
S. Lasar, New York	10 00
F. King, Boston	10 00
Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Ober	10 00
A. M. & A. B. Powell	5 00
Sarah Cowing	5 00
Susan Cowing	5 00
Mary Willey	2 00
Rev. E. Connor	10 00
Wendell Phillips	100 00
Mary Grew	5 00
Henry C. Wright	2 00
C. M. Slack	3 00
R. D. Webb, Dublin	25 00
D

Miscellaneous Department.

SONNETS.

BY WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

How shall my love to God be clearest shown?
He nothing needs of all that I possess;
Nothing it costs lip homage to express—
In sackcloth and in ashes to lie prone—
Sin in the abstract loudly to bemoan;
Easy it is religion to profess,
And praise and magnify Christ's righteousness;
For this requires but empty breath alone.
By cleaving to the truth when under ban,
Striving to break Oppression's iron rod,
Bearing the cross where Freedom leads the van,
Shunning no path by faithful martyrs trod,
And loving as myself my fellow-men—
Thus clearest shall I show my love to God.

It is a good thing to be heretic—
Disturber of the peace—blasphemer bold—
When Satan's minions, unto evil sold,
Who at no slanderous accusation stick,
Apply such epithets both fierce and thick—
For so they stigmatized the Christ of old,
Prophets, apostles, martyrs manifold,
And still resort to the same fiendish trick.
It is sure proof of towering rectitude,
Love of the truth, and reverence for right,
A soul with godlike principle imbued,
And lofty courage to maintain the fight,
When one is thus maliciously pursued:
For darkness hath no fellowship with light.

It is so cheap to praise what all applaud,
To bend the supple knee and bow the head
Over the graves of the illustrious dead,
Extol the Past in popular accord,
And with the lips confess that Christ is Lord!
If we have not the martyr strength to tread
Their thorny paths—lead onward as they led
Far in advance of ancient bounds, unawed—
If, cowards in the Present, we recoil
From grappling with the evils of our time,
Content with bygone, vanquished sins to moil,
Our praise of olden heroes is but slime,
And we are naught but cumberers of the soil,
And parasites, and panderers to crime.

"What hath God wrought?" my soul cries out, elate:
But yesterday the might of Slavery swayed
Our land from sea to sea. Sternly arrayed
In its defence, alas! stood Church and State,
Whate'er was held revered, or towered as great:
All sects and parties bowed themselves afraid,
Rulers and ruled alike its word obeyed,
As though it were the awful voice of Fate!
Union, and Constitution, and the laws
Enforced its impious claims with iron hand:
Ah! Liberty had few to plead her cause,
And they were deemed a vile and traitorous band.
To-day she reigns victorious mid applause,
And every thrall goes free at her command!

—*Independent.*

CHARLOTTE P. HAWES,

T. W. HIGGINSON writes in the *Radical* a biographical sketch of this lately deceased writer, from which the following paragraphs are extracted:

Rare combinations met in her. Talk with her, and she seemed resolved to glorify all life, impatient to fly before she had learned to walk. Observe her action, and she had the precision of a bank clerk—was the soul of accuracy as of honor—would toil a whole day to avoid risking a trivial misstatement in anything she wrote—and would "live on sixpence a day and earn it," if the fates offered her no more.

She longed intensely for a literary career, but it seemed as if she were pledged to atone by her thoroughness for the lamentable impatience of labor which marks the majority of young writers, and especially almost all young women. There was no end to her willingness to revise and re-revise. She demanded perfection in every sentence, and would, if necessary, rewrite it, like Ariesto's famous sonnet, in thirty different shapes. Her style, even at the best, had not attained perfect maturity, but it was rapidly approaching it.

Amiable and winning, brilliant and truthful, as she was, the quality by which I should most characterize her is that of heroism. No weaker word will describe her whole attitude and habit of existence. I remember that, about the beginning of the war she brought into our parlor some needlework with which she busied herself. My wife asked if that was for the soldiers—for whom everybody was then working. "No," said Charlotte, looking up, "it is for this little soldier in the warfare of life." The phrase fitted her perfectly, and she was for us the "little soldier" to the end of her days. Never have I seen, in the army or out of it, a self-reliance more absolute or unflinching than hers.

I first knew her about 1858, when, at the age of twenty-one or thereabouts, she removed to Worcester, chiefly with a view to intellectual cultivation. She lived near us, soon became a valued guest, and finally with her mother a housemate. She delighted to mingle with affairs; she did copying for me and others, and catalogued the books in the new public library; but she also wrote for newspapers, and worked her way to the assistant editorship for six months of the Worcester *Daily Transcript*, an evening paper, whose editor, Mr. W. R. Hooper, could be in the office but an hour or two daily.

There the little lady presided in his absence, secure in her own strong sense and maidenly dignity, wielding pen and scissors, confronting delinquent subscribers, impatient advertisers, and wrangling printers, always with a winning manner and a ready wit, which secured her the regard of all. Her day's work done, and the paper published, she went home to cook her daily beefsteak—for they had no domestic—and after which she would dive into the public library, or employ her nimble fingers in creating a new bonnet for a friend out of a new bit of silk or out of an odd remnant of ribbon.

Her literary talents developed more and more; her circle of friends constantly widened. In the last Winter of her life she removed to Boston for greater advantages, and took that small room in Montgomery place, which her struggle for shelter has celebrated. A room eight feet by six furnished her with parlor, chamber and kitchen, yet with unwonted ingenuity, all but the parlor was kept out of sight. In this atom of space she worked and rested, had groups of guests, and underwent desperate illnesses, found friends in everybody, and had remarkable incidents every day.

Here she worked for the *Atlantic Monthly* in revising manuscripts, as well as in writing them; and in the intervals of the wasting disease that drove her back to Worcester, she revised for the press Coffin's "Four Years Fighting," and corrected the proofs. Her other published writings, beside articles in the *Commonwealth* and *Independent*, were "A Letter to a Young Housekeeper," and "Invalidism," in the *Atlantic*, an essay on "Travelling" in the *Galaxy*, and one on "Espicteus" in this periodical.

EXAGERATION.—Modern civilization has taken from life so much of its former simplicity that the old names of things are almost forgotten, and it is considered a sign of ignorance to talk in plain Saxon words of one or two syllables. This is partly chargeable to the general tendency to exaggerate expressions, but very much to the notion which obtains among business men, that the most high sounding advertisement is the best paying, and that a taking and mysterious name is half the battle of getting any new thing into use. Hence there is nothing common now. Everything is "improved," and the more patents it can boast of the better. If it is also a "combination" article, something is gained.

A melodeon is a harmoneum, or a cabinet organ; a piano is an agraffe instrument; cheap cologne is a triple-refined bouquet, and even that name is beaten by Egyptian lotus and night-blooming cereus; and common dissolved gum-arabic bottled is under the name of extra cohesive mucilage. There is no tooth-powder; but every druggist, who is now a pharmaceutist or a pharmaceutical chemist, sells dentifrices, such as fragrant sozodont, or philodont, or florimel, or swietenia, or balm of a thousand flowers. Gin is aromatic schiedam schnapps; paregoric is soothing syrup. Then there are an anodyne, an elixir of life, a buchu, a pectoral balsam, a bloom of youth, an ivory pearl powder, a saponifier, a magical pain extractor, a rheumatic remedy, a pulmo-bronchial troche, a chemical promade, a hair rejuvenator, a mamarial balm. Corns are removed without pain by chiropodists. Doctors are medical gentlemen. A conjuror is a prestidigitatcur; a circus is a hippotheatron. Every concert, large or small, is a grand vocal and instrumental concert. A fire is the devouring element. A man who dies by a rope is launched into eternity; if dying otherwise, the vital spark becomes extinct.—*N. Y. Eve. Gazette.*

HENRY WARD BEECHER ON LOVE.

THE following is from a recent sermon by the pastor of Plymouth church:

On earth there is nothing more beautiful than the first breaking of the ground of young, strong, new, pure love. No flower that ever blossomed, however fair; no fragrance that any flower ever emitted, however sweet; no bravery of the sky; no witchery of art; nothing that man ever invented or imagined, is to be compared with the hours of dawning love in the young soul. And it is a shame that men should be taught to be ashamed of that which is the prophecy of their highest being and glory. Alas, that it should ever perish in the using! Alas, that men should not know that to endure it must rise higher and higher, since it is only by growing into its full and later disclosures that it may be saved from quick mortality. It must grow or die; for that which suffices for a beginning is not enough for all, and for all time.

Love, therefore, should be a schoolmaster, carrying its pupils up from room to room, through the whole university of the mind. As the lower begins first, it ends first. The higher, beginning latest, lasts the longest.

And, hence, true affection is strongest in the later periods of being. Perhaps it is less witching, perhaps it is less attractive in novelty, perhaps it is less stimulating, than young love; but the popular impression that we love strongest when we love earliest is not found in truth or analogy. No one knows the whole lore of love, that does not know how to love with the reason, the imagination, and all the moral sentiments. It is the most interior school that the soul can know. Men may know how to deal with numbers and solve problems; but that is the rarest, the innermost, the deepest knowledge that comes with loving by all the parts and faculties of the soul.

They only can love greatly or fruitfully who are good, since the line, the direction, is from the flesh toward the spirit. It is from the low toward the high. It is from the substantial toward the invisible. And none can truly love except those whose life is the unfolding of their whole nature on the plan of Christianity.

How pitiful it is to see men build too low! I cannot bear to see the young gathering together and building their nests as the birds do. On my lawn I see the larks and other birds building in the grass, and know that before the young are fledged the remorseless mower, with revolving strokes, will sweep the ground, and the nests will be utterly destroyed, and the young cut and wasted. And do I not see men building their nests just so? Do I not see love beginning to nestle in the flowers? But the flowers themselves are rooted in the dirt down low, close to the foot that easily shall crush them.

I mourn when I see a mother loving her children for time, and for time only. I mourn when I see two natures that should be eternally affianced, loving each other within the horizons of time. There must be something higher than the circlings of this world. No love is fit to be called by the name of love that has not in it something of the other world, and much of immortality. It must rise above an instinct or passion. It must have in it faith and hope. It must be a love that is served by the reason, by the imagination, by all that there is in the soul.

CRETE.

Though Arkalli's shattered pile
Hides her dead without a dirge,
Lo! where still the mountain isle
Fronts the angry Moslem surge!
Hers, in old, heroic days,
Her unfettered heights afar
'Twixt the Grecian gulf to raise,
And the torrid Libyan star.

From her bulwarks to the North
Stretched the glad Ægæan Sea,
Sending bards and warriors forth
To the triumphs of the free;
Ill the fierce invader throve,
When, from island or from main,
Side by side the Grecians strove:
Swift he sought his lair again!

Though the Cretan eagle fell,
And the ancient heights were won,
Freedom's light was guarded well—
Handed down from sire to son;
Through the centuries of shame,
Ah! it never wholly died,
But was hid, a sacred flame,
There on topmost Ida's side.

Shades of heroes Homer sung—
Wearing once her hundred crowns—
Rise with shadowy swords among
Candia's smoking fields and towns;
Not again their souls shall sleep,
Nor the crescent wane in peace,
Till from every island-keep
Shines the starry Cross of Greece.

January 27, 1867. EDMUND C. STEDMAN.

EIGHTEEN YEARS IN A DUNGEON.

A NEWSPAPER published at Colima, Mexico, tells the following frightful story, and calls upon the public to punish the criminals: "When Gen. Pueblita entered the town of Ayo, in September last, he exacted a forced loan from the people, and a portion of it fell upon the curate of the place. The curate acted as though he would pay, but he did not make his appearance at the point designated for payment, and Gen. Pueblita ordered him to be arrested. A party of men went to his dwelling and knocked at the door; there was no answer, and they broke in. They found no one in the house, and were about to leave, when they heard a frightful voice proceeding from the ground saying, "I am hungry!"

"The officer in command went back to Gen. Pueblita and told him about the voice. The General appointed a commission to examine the house. This commission went to the curate's dwelling, and after a careful examination, they found a moveable stone in the floor, and under this was a stairway leading down to a vault, which was entirely dark, and had no connection with the air save by the staircase, and a small hole that served as a ventilator. In this vault they discovered a few articles of furniture, and a woman who had been shut up there for eighteen years. She was taken to Gen. Pueblita's quarters.

"When brought into the light, where she saw a number of persons, she fainted. After she had returned to her senses, a thousand questions were asked of her, to which she replied that she had been buried in that vault for eighteen years, without going out for a moment; that she had been married, and had children by her husband, but she knew nothing of their fate; that while imprisoned in the vault she had had children by the curate, but she knew nothing of what had become of these children, and after that much became obstinately silent.

"While this was passing, a sergeant of the Pueblita brigade, then present, discovered that this woman was his mother, and she recognized him as her son and embraced him. The son then ran for his father, who came and recognized his wife. The husband fifteen years ago was imprisoned three years under charge of murdering his wife—this woman."

EPITAPH ON A CHILD.

This little seed of light and love,
Just lent us for a day,
Came like a blessing from above,
Passed like a dream away.

But for the dream—it broke, indeed,
Yet still great comfort gives:
What was a dream is now our creed—
We know our darling lives.

—*Northern Lights.*

POLITENESS AT HOME.—Somebody says, and says truly, that there are few families anywhere in which love is not abused as furnishing the license for impoliteness. A husband, father, or brother will speak harsh words to those he loves best, simply because the secrecy of love and family pride keep him from getting his head broken. It is a shame that a man will speak more impolitely at times to his wife or sister than he would to any other woman. It is thus that the honest affections of a man's nature prove to be a weaker protection to a woman in a family circle than the restraints of society, and that a woman is usually indebted for the kindest politeness of life to those not belonging to her own household. These things ought not to be so. The man who, because it will not be resented, inflicts his spleen and bad temper upon those of his hearthstone, is a small coward and a very mean man. Kind words are circulating mediums between true gentlemen and ladies at home, and no polish exhibited in society can atone for the harsh language and disrespectful treatment too often indulged in between those bound together by God's own ties of blood, and the most sacred bonds of conjugal love.—*Godey's Lady Book.*

AFTER.

After the shower, the tranquil sun;
After the snow, the emerald leaves;
Silver stars when the day is done;
After the harvest, golden sheaves.

After the clouds, the violet sky;
After the tempest, the lull of waves;
Quiet woods, when the winds go by;
After the battle peaceful graves.

After the knell, the wedding bells;
After the bud, the radiant rose;
Joyful greetings from sad farewells;
After our weeping, sweet repose.

After the burden, the blissful meed;
After the flight the downy nest;
After the furrow, the waking seed;
After the shadowy river—rest!

GEORGE COOPER.

HOW VICTOR HUGO "SUFFERS LITTLE CHILDREN."

THE particulars of the French author Victor Hugo's Christmas entertainment, to some forty poor children of all countries and religions, at his island home of Guernsey, are very charming. Food, clothing and toys having been distributed, the poet thus spoke:

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: You are aware of the object of this little meeting. It is what, for want of a better term, I call the festival of poor little children. I desire to speak of it in the humblest terms, and with this feeling I would borrow the simplicity of one of these little ones who now hear me. To do good to poor children, as far as I am able, is the object that I have in view. Believe me, there is no merit in the act, and what I say I sincerely mean. There is no merit in doing for the poor what we can, for what we can do it is a duty to do. Do you know anything more sad than the sufferings of children? When we suffer—we who are men—we suffer justly, we endure nothing but what we deserve; but children are innocent, and suffering innocence, is it not the saddest thing in nature? Here Providence entrusts us with a portion of its own functions. God says to man—I confide to thee the child. And he does not confide to us our own children alone—for it is simply natural that we should have care for them—and the brute obeys this law of nature, better sometimes than man himself. God entrusts us with all the children that suffer. To be the father—the mother of poor children—this is our highest mission. To have towards them the parental feeling is to have a fraternal feeling towards humanity."

M. Victor Hugo expressed a hope that the deplorable term of "ragged" would soon disappear from the beautiful and noble English language, and also that there would be no longer a ragged class. He then dwelt on the fact that cholera had not attacked one of the children thus fed in London. Nothing, he thought, could speak more forcibly in favor of the institution, and he left the result to the consideration of those who now heard him, concluding in the following terms: "Here, ladies and gentlemen, here is my excuse for describing to you what takes place here. This is what justifies the publicity given to the dinner to the forty children. It is that from this humble origin there arises a considerable amelioration in the condition of suffering innocence. To relieve children—to train them into men—such is our duty. I will add but one word more. There are two ways of building churches. They may be built of stones—they may be built of flesh and bone. The poor whom you have succored are a church that you have built from whence prayer and gratitude ascend to God."

WHO KNOWETH?

Who knoweth the hope that was born to me,
When the spring time came with its greenery;
With orchard blossoming, fair to see,
With drone of beetle and buzz of bee,
And Robin a-trill on his apple tree,
Cheerily, cheerily!

Who knoweth the hope that was dead—ah me!
That was dead—and never again to be,
When the winter came, all dismally,
With desolate rain on desolate sea;
With cold snow blossoms for wood and lea,
And the wind a-moan in the apple-tree,
Drearily, drearily!

—*The Galaxy.*

ALDRIGE, THE COLORED ACTOR.

THE dramatic critic of *Wilkes' Spirit of the Times* has the following account of Ira Aldrige, the celebrated colored actor.

"About thirty years ago, being a youth of twenty, Aldrige went to England with the elder Wallack in the humble capacity of body-servant, but so great was his aptitude for the dramatic art that, without any instruction, by mere association and contact with that great actor, he inhaled and absorbed sufficient skill to come out as an an actor himself in Othello, in the slave, and in several other parts with which he was identified by his color. For many years he struggled on in England in the arduous endeavor to win fame and fortune upon the stage. At times he was in the greatest poverty and distress, but held on bravely, and at last his reward came. But he did not reap his greatest success till he went upon the Continent in 1852. There his victory was complete and overwhelming.

"In Austria, Germany, France, and pre-eminently in Russia, he has ever since had the most stupendous triumphs. In Moscow and St. Petersburg so great is his popularity that the students have often unharnessed the horses of his chariot and drawn him from the theatre as a conqueror. An extraordinary fact about his success is that he does not know the continential languages well enough to employ them upon the stage; and that from the very outset he has spoken his own parts in English. It is high evidence of his ability that in a language utterly strange to his audiences, by sheer force of acting, by look, tone, gesture, attitude, movement, he should electrify and delight the most cultivated nations of Europe. And from the deep poverty of his early years he has risen to eloquence. Nobility and royalty have showered upon him their favors. He has been knighted, and bears the title of chevalier. He wears rings given to him by kings and queens, and he could load his breast with the decorations and medals of the different orders he has received.

"His wife is a sweedish baroness, and his residence is a splendid mansion in the suburbs of London, near Crystal Palace, and he owns not only the house which he occupies, but five villas of equal proportions. There is not alive a more successful man than Chevalier Ira Aldrige, K. S., thirty years ago Wallack's body-servant!—not only very rich, a man of rank, title and high consideration, but as refined and elegant a gentleman as walks in Piccadilly or drives in Hyde Park. Yet he is a pure black, has the thick lip, the flat nose, and the curly hair."

THE RIVER SPRITE.

The lily closes its chalice,
Afloat on the river's breast;
Then comes the sprite of the river,
And makes in the lily her nest.

The star of eve is her watch-light,
Her curtain the rush's crest;
The wave sings lullabies under,
And o'er her the wind of the west.

Light mists roll over the river,
And cover her dreamless rest;
What guest hath a sweeter chamber
What chamber a lovelier guest?

—*Northern Lights.*

GIVING JOY TO A CHILD.—Blessed be the hand that prepares a pleasure for a child, for there is no saying when and where it may again bloom forth. Does not almost everybody remember some kind-hearted man who showed him a kindness in the dulcet days of his childhood? The writer of this recollects himself at this moment, as a barefooted lad, standing at the wooden fence of a poor little garden in his native village, while with longing eyes he gazed on the flowers which were blooming there quietly in the brightness of a Sunday morning. The possessor came forth from his little cottage; he was a wood-cutter by trade, and spent the whole week at work in the woods. He had come into the garden to gather flowers to stick in his coat when he went to church. He saw the boy, and breaking off the most beautiful of his carnations—it was streaked with red and white—he gave it to him. Neither the giver nor the receiver spoke a word, and with bounding steps the boy ran home. And now here, at a vast distance from that home, after so many events of so many years, the feeling of gratitude which agitated the breast of that boy expresses itself on paper. The carnation has long since withered, but now it blooms afresh.—*Douglas Jerrold.*

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THE EDINBURGH REVIEW (Whig.)
THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW (Radical.)
THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW (Free-Church.)
AND
BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE (Tory.)

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